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ABSTRACT

A number of hypotheses derived from sociological theory and from previous research concerning the potential collaboration of citizens of the United States and Mexico were tested. Included in the samples were 1,528 interviews from the United States general public; 306 interviews from rural persons residing in places of 2,500 or less in Michigan; 105 interviews with Spanish-speaking informants in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas; 1,126 interviews with informants in urban Mexico; and 288 from rural Mexico, or from villages and towns of between 100 and 2,500 population. The findings are discussed under the following chapter titles: "Factors of Knowledge and Mass Communication," "Actual Behavioral Linkages," "Attitudes Toward the Across the Border Country and Toward Linkages with That Country," "Desire for Linkage and Collaboration: Its Predictability and Explanation," and "The Meaning of the Linkage-Contrasts of Mexico and the United States." It was concluded that in all samples, informants with more formal education had higher mean scores measuring their contacts in across the border and Anglo-Latino relations than did those with low educational attainment. It was also found that higher educational attainment was less frequently concomitant with high interaction between Anglos and Latinos in interaccion arenas, such as church, formal groups, neighborhoods, and work places, than it was for other forms of interaction. (HBC)

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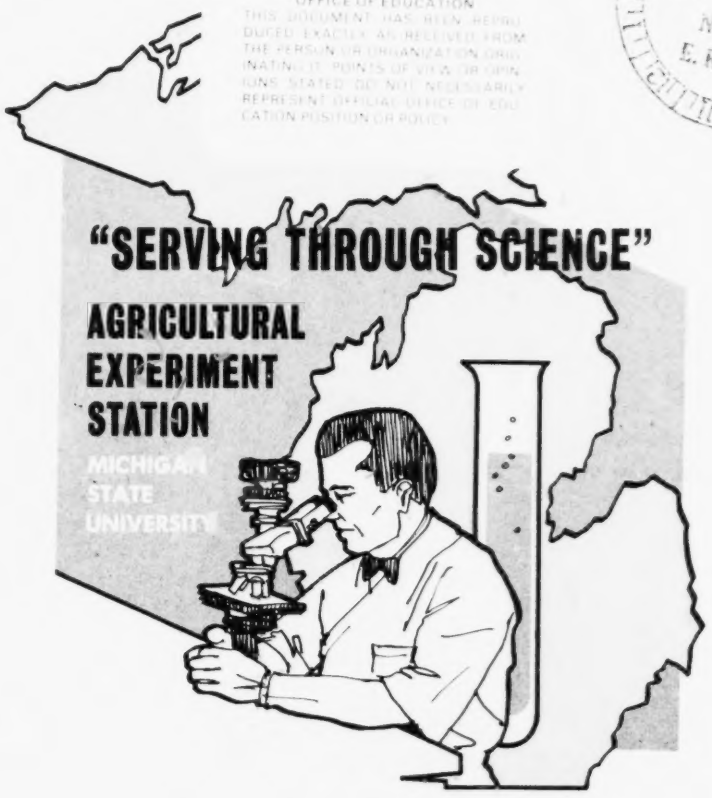

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Linkages of Mexico and the United States[1]

Study Based on Modified Probability Samples of Rural Michigan, the U. S. General Public, Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States, Urban Mexico, and Rural Mexico

Charles P. Loomis, Zona K. Loomis, and Jeanne E. Gullahorn

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Cooperation and conflict between nations and between groups within nations have been age-old themes by which man's relation to man has been scrutinized. This bulletin proposes to apply the themes to the United States and Mexico. Situated as they are, border to border, certain interdependencies and certain strains are at once apparent. In the case of the United States, perishable crops in Michigan and other states are dependent upon migrant laborers from the Southwest and from Mexico. In the case of Mexico, the income from north of the border—including the income from the substantial number of North American *turistas* who spend their dollars in Mexico, and the wages sent or brought back to Mexico by the Mexican *braceros* who swell the labor force of the United States during critical harvest periods—has been crucial to her stability and growth (9, 4). As various countries seek bases from which to pursue certain objectives, including that of threatening the United States, the importance of these neighbor countries takes on even greater significance.

Mexico now has one of the highest population ~~emigration~~ Replacement rates in the world. There is reason to believe that, as in the past, many Mexicans will become citizens of the United States. Of the tens of thousands of

[1]The study was financed by the Carnegie Corporation, the United States Public Health Service, the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, and the Center for International Programs of M.S.U. under a grant from the Ford Foundation. We also acknowledge with gratitude the work of associates who at one time or another in the progress of the study made invaluable contributions towards its completion: Richard Brymer, J. Allan Beegle, Eugene Jacobson, Hideya Kumata, Clark McPhail, Robert Stewart, Francis Sim, Charles Tucker, Robert Turley and Fred Waisanen. These collaborators with the senior author worked together on a Five Nation Study, including Costa Rica, Finland, Japan, Mexico and the United States. Mrs. Vera Krause deserves thanks for assistance in the typing and processing of the material for publication. The authors alone bear responsibility, however, for the statistics and their interpretation in the present bulletin.

Spanish-speaking United States citizens from the Southwest who follow the harvests north, many remain to become permanent residents of northern states, such as Michigan. The number of Mexicans who desire American citizenship and in due time become naturalized citizens has always been relatively large. Although fewer citizens of the United States seek citizenship in Mexico, many take up residence there as an increasing number of businesses (and other types of linkages) staff with North American personnel. An estimated one out of every four persons living north of the border has visited Mexico. This proportion is increasing annually. Similar proportions of Mexicans have visited the United States as workers, students and in other capacities. In almost every state of each nation, the peoples from north and south of the border meet. Does the interaction involved in these confrontations promote cooperation between Anglos and Latinos in the two countries? What factors facilitate collaboration and what factors generate conflict? The present monograph will deal with these questions, and in so doing will note cultural and social differences and similarities, especially as they impinge upon social change.

OBJECTIVES, CONCEPTS, HYPOTHESES AND SAMPLES

Objectives

The objectives of the study are the improvement of prediction and explanation; specifically, the improvement of prediction on the potential collaboration of citizens of one nation with another, and one ethnic group with another, through use of data gathered to test hypotheses generated from existing knowledge. The present investigation may be viewed in the context of cross-cultural research directed by the senior author over the past 15 years. A bibliography of related publications appears in the Related Research section (page ~~??~~ 78).

Concepts

The basic concepts used in the present study are detailed in the book, *Social Systems* (10, 11, 12). Here, in almost definitional simplicity, those generalized concepts basic to the study will be itemized.[2]

[2]The present monograph does not present the analysis as originally conceived because computer costs were prohibitive. It would have consisted of a set of "generalized components of systemic interaction" in which measures of homogeneity and heterogeneity for all the interaction arenas were specified. Each informant could thus be scored in terms of the homogeneity and heterogeneity of his or her interaction arenas, his own compatibility with these, and the extent of interaction in the arenas. Components of the homogeneity-heterogeneity scales are (1) language and ethnic background, (2) political leanings, (3) religious affiliation and participation, and (4) stratification or class level. A series of hypotheses were developed with the expectation that the analysis would be made, and it is intended that it be undertaken later. The curtailed presentation in this bulletin focuses upon linkage of Mexicans and citizens of the United States and/or linkage of Anglos and Latinos in either country.

Social System: Interaction that is mutually oriented and mediated through shared expectations and symbols may be said to constitute a system. The greater the intensity and frequency of *specific types of interaction* on the part of members as compared with non-members may constitute a characteristic of systems permitting their delineation. For the present study it is assumed that the interaction of citizens of nations constitute systems. Likewise the interactions of members of language and ethnic groups may be considered systems if the members interact more with one another than with non-members.

Systemic linkage: Systemic linkage is the process by which the elements of at least two social systems come to be articulated so that in some ways and on some occasions they may be viewed as a single system. Examples of systems linking nations are the United States-Mexican Border Commission, the Organization of American States, etc. Less structured links may be found in resident aliens in any country, and the so-called marginal man who usually is linking at least two systems. It is assumed that linkage may be operationalized as a variable property. Thus, a given ethnic plurality might at a given occasion be completely linked to a mother country, but on another occasion have no discernible linkage. Complete linkage may be defined as that state of a system, composed previously of two or more systems, in which actors of the sub-systems, when paired by sociologically similar status-roles, exhibit no significant differences with respect to norms, goals, sentiments and beliefs.

Desire for linkage: When actors express eagerness to become members of systems in which they do not hold membership, such expression may be designated as desire for systemic linkage. Thus, it is assumed that those United States citizens who desire more Mexican friends, desire to move to Mexico, etc., desire linkage with Mexico.

Behavioral linkage: Behavioral linkage occurs when the actual actions of members positively link them with the members of another system. Similar goals may be expressed by the action linkage, as when allies participate in a war. Goals may be reciprocal rather than common, such as in those of exchange and trade. In the present study, a United States citizen's visiting Mexico (or vice versa) is considered a behavioral link.

Boundary maintenance: Boundary maintenance is the process whereby the identity of a given social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained. Boundary maintaining

activities take many forms: the waging of war, both "hot" and "cold," or the use of disparaging terms for members of a group not one's own. Examples of the latter are "greaser" used by Anglos and "gringo" used by Latinos.

Desire to maintain boundaries: When actors express eagerness to delimit the membership of pertinent social systems to actors embodying the characteristics of the present membership, they are assumed to be expressing a desire for boundary maintenance. The present study relies on the inverse of the systemic linkage desire, or the so-called social distance scale, for its measurement of desire for boundary maintenance.

Hypotheses

The study was designed to test the following hypotheses:

(1) Desire for systemic linkage on the part of the citizens of one country for the nation and/or its citizens across the border can be predicted on the basis of knowledge of behavioral linkage of citizens of the two countries. Indexes measuring behavioral linkage will be positively correlated with indexes measuring desire for linkage.

(2) Other things equal, the greater the knowledge the members of one system have of members of the other, the greater the desire the members will have for linkage with that system. (An extension of the same can be gained by substituting in place of knowledge, the idea of "language ability" in the other system.)[3]

(3) The greater the educational attainment of informants, the greater will be the behavioral linkage and the desire for linkage.

(4) The measures of behavioral linkage and desired linkage on the part of the citizens of Mexico with those of the United States, and vice-versa, are positively correlated with the various indexes designed to measure readiness to accept and/or initiate change.[4]

(5) Behavioral and/or desired linkage with members of other heterogeneous systems is positively related to (a) the extent of heterogeneity of the system, and (b) the amount of interaction of actors in the heterogeneous system.[5]

---

[3]The knowledge component was not intercorrelated with the behavioral linkage and desire for linkage ipdexes, and thus this hypothesis was not tested directly. However, the educational attainment index, which was found to be highly related to the knowledge component, was intercorrelated with behavioral and desired linkage. All the facts available from the study point to the validation of the hypothesis.

[4]Analysis of data that would test this hypothesis in detail could not be done for lack of funds. This is planned in future phases of the study.

[5]Analysis of data that would test this hypothesis directly could not be done for lack of funds. However, the data do supply inferential support for the hypothesis: e.g., the larger the city (up to 500,000) the more its members manifest both behavioral and desired linkage. To the degree that cities more than open country, and larger cit[illegible] more than smaller, tend to be heterogeneous, this datum supports the hypothesis.

(6) The closer the respondent is to the United States-Mexican border, other things equal, the greater the behavioral linkage and the greater the desire for linkage of Mexicans with citizens of the United States (and vice-versa) and Anglos with Latinos (and vice-versa).

(7) The older the actors, other things equal, the lower the behavioral linkage and the lower the desire for linkage as specified in number (4) above.

(8) Other things equal, the more rural (the smaller) the place of residence, the lower the behavioral linkage and the desire for linkage as specified in number (4) above.

(9) Other things equal, non-white and all non-Anglo[6] actors, except the Spanish-Americans, will have lower scores on the behavioral and desired linkage scales than Anglos.

(10) The larger the proportion of Catholics in the three United States samples, other things equal, the greater the behavioral linkage and the desired linkage as specified in number (4) above.

(11) The higher the rank or social status, other things equal, the higher the behavioral and desired linkage.

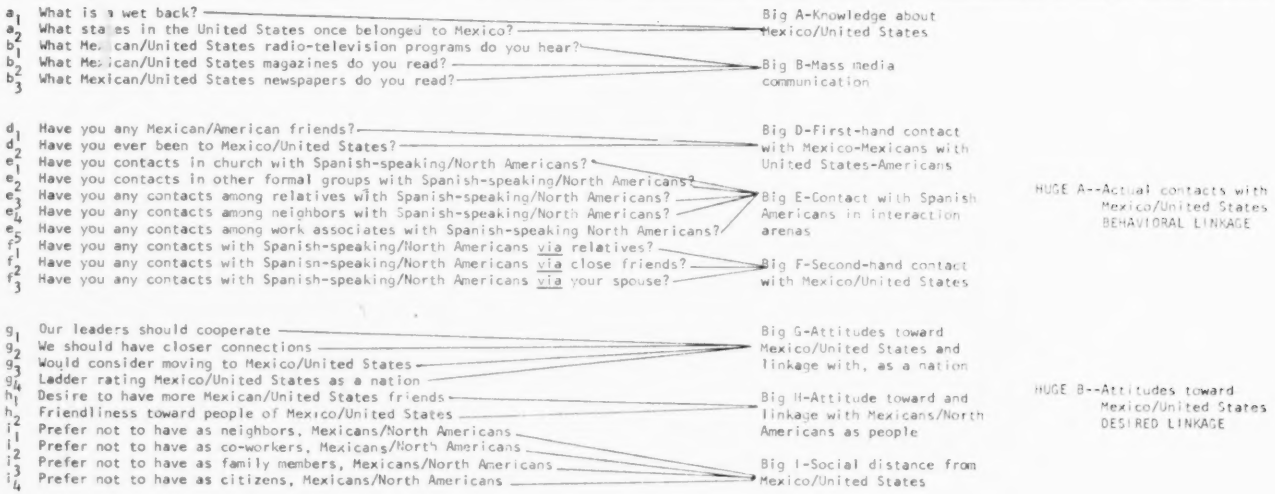
In addition to the above hypotheses related to systemic linkage and boundary maintenance in their broader aspects, a series of hypotheses was generated from system theory and the literature on differences and similarities in the societies and cultures of Mexico and the United States. These are stated at the beginning of Chapter 6.

Samples

Agencies responsible for interviewing, coding and providing marginals, and developing sampling plans for five separate universes, were the International Research Associates, S.A. de C.V. who did this work in Mexico, and the Gallup Organization Incorporated in the United States. The samples provided 1,528 interviews from the United States general public; 306 interviews from rural persons residing in places of 2,500 or less in Michigan; 105 interviews with Spanish-speaking informants in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas; 1,126 interviews with informants in urban Mexico (places of 2,500 and more people); and 288 from rural Mexico, or from villages

[6]The term "Anglo" here does not refer to those of English derivation, but rather, those who have been assimilated into the United States culture to the extent that little or no marginality is evident. Actually, the sample of the United States general public numbered only nine "non-Anglos" (who were not Spanish speaking) by this definition.

TABLE 1—Schematic pyramiding of indexes


a1 What is a wet back?
a2 What states in the United States once belonged to Mexico?
b1 What Mexican/United States radio-television programs do you hear?
b2 What Mexican/United States magazines do you read?
b3 What Mexican/United States newspapers do you read?
Big A-Knowledge about Mexico/United States
Big B-Mass media communication
d1 Have you any Mexican/American friends?
d2 Have you ever been to Mexico/United States?
e1 Have you contacts in church with Spanish-speaking/North Americans?
e2 Have you contacts in other formal groups with Spanish-speaking/North Americans?
e3 Have you any contacts among relatives with Spanish-speaking/North Americans?
e4 Have you any contacts among neighbors with Spanish-speaking/North Americans?
e5 Have you any contacts among work associates with Spanish-speaking North Americans?
f1 Have you any contacts with Spanish-speaking/North Americans via relatives?
f2 Have you any contacts with Spanisn-speaking/North Americans via close friends?
f3 Have you any contacts with Spanish-speaking/North Americans via your spouse?
Big D-First-hand contact with Mexico-Mexicans with United States-Americans
Big E-Contact with Spanish Americans in interaction arenas
Big F-Second-hand contact with Mexico/United States
HUGE A--Actual contacts with Mexico/United States BEHAVIORAL LINKAGE
g1 Our leaders should cooperate
g2 We should have closer connections
g3 Would consider moving to Mexico/United States
g4 Ladder rating Mexico/United States as a nation
h1 Desire to have more Mexican/United States friends
h2 Friendliness toward people of Mexico/United States
i1 Prefer not to have as neighbors, Mexicans/North Americans
i2 Prefer not to have as co-workers, Mexicans/North Americans
i3 Prefer not to have as family members, Mexicans/North Americans
i4 Prefer not to have as citizens, Mexicans/North Americans
Big G-Attitudes toward Mexico/United States and linkage with, as a nation
Big H-Attitude toward and linkage with Mexicans/North Americans as people
Big I-Social distance from Mexico/United States
HUGE B--Attitudes toward Mexico/United States DESIRED LINKAGE

and towns of between 100 and 2,500 population. All samples are modified probability samples of the civilian population 21 years of age and over. The results of the interviews are summarized in the tables used throughout the presentation and provide data testing the hypotheses. Since most of the information gathered in this study consisted of frequencies in discrete categories, the data analyses generally involved statistics appropriate for nominal level measurements. In particular, the Chi Square test was applied to test the null hypothesis that the different samples of frequencies observed came from the same or identical populations. This null hypothesis was rejected in favor of the research hypothesis that the populations differed if, under the null hypothesis, the probability associated with the occurrence of a particular value yielded by the statistical test was equal to or less than 5 percent.

Indexes

The composition of the various indexes used in the study will emerge in the following pages. It will be helpful to the reader, however, to have an overall view of the various indexes and their interrelations so that the detail of the numerous small indexes will not obscure the two over-arching dimensions: attitudinal measurements (desire for linkage) and behavioral measurements (actual existing contacts), both of which are summations of the many small indexes to be described in the following pages. Table 1 presents a schematic outline of the pyramiding of the indexes (19).

The reader will want to keep in mind as part of his overall view that the two dimensions represented in Table 1 by the designations HUGE A and HUGE B will themselves be correlated with a number of sociological variables. Occasional references to such correlations will be made in the pages to follow. Their full discussion appears in Chapter 5, which in a sense is a summarizing section. Let us turn now to the data contained in the smaller tables whose designations appear in Table 1 as a_1, a_2, b_1, . . . i_4.

CHAPTER 2. FACTORS OF KNOWLEDGE AND MASS COMMUNICATION

KNOWLEDGE

Throughout the study two measures of knowledge were related to the various indexes: (1) formal educational attainment and (2) general information about Mexico and the United States.

Formal Educational Attainment

The formal educational attainment of the informants from the two countries is presented in Table 2. Educational attainment as a variable will be used throughout the study.

TABLE 2—Formal educational attainment of informants

Level of education	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
None	--	--	--	19.0	38.9
1-4 years	5.0	4.4	29.3	40.0	53.9
5-8 years	30.1	36.2	33.1	30.0	6.9
9-12 years	42.5	42.0	23.5	8.0	--
13 years and over	22.3	17.4	12.7	2.0	--
Don't know, no response	.1	--	1.4	1.0	.3
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

General Information about Mexico/United States

Table 3 summarizes the percentage of correct responses to questions appraising knowledge relevant to the linkage process. It is interesting to note that a much greater proportion of Mexicans than United States citizens knew the identity of their foreign affairs minister. Because the number of United States citizens who responded to this item correctly was so very small it was dropped from the index. Ability to identify U Thant and Nehru was highly correlated with educational attainment in both countries. In Index Big A (Table 1) two items, "What is a wet back?" and "What states of the United States once belonged to Mexico?" are summated for each informant so that 2 equals high knowledge, or correct answers to both questions, 1 equals intermediate knowledge with one correct response, and O equals no correct answers. The product moment correlation between this Big A index and educational attainment for the general public of the United States,

TABLE 3—Knowledge related to United States-Mexico linkages and world relations

Knowledge items	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Who is Dean Rusk?*	7.6	3.8	6.5	--	--
Who is Manuel Tello?**	--	--	--	24.3	3.5
What is a wet back?	29.3	27.8	17.0	55.8	24.0
States of United States which once belonged to Mexico?	65.3	66.1	82.9	48.3	22.9
Who is U Thant?	27.4	21.1	9.8	6.2	.7
Who is Nehru?	42.4	36.1	28.5	18.8	1.0
~~TOTAL PERCENT~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~

*Question as presented in the United States. Answer: Secretary of the United States Department of State.
**Question as presented in Mexico. Answer: Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States, urban Mexico and rural Mexico are as follows: .39, .33, .44, .49 and .34.[7]

The great importance of education in knowledge that should be significant in understanding the background of United States-Mexican and Anglo-Latino relations is apparent from these high relationships. However, as is well known, collaboration is not merely a matter of knowledge. Interaction, sentiment, motivation and many other factors are involved. These and other considerations will be treated below. Here it may be noted that the index designed to measure background knowledge concerning border relationships is related to other sociological variables. As might be expected, informants living in the border states more frequently answered the questions correctly than others. This is true notwithstanding the low relationship manifest in the study between the factors border vs. nonborder residence and educational attainment.

MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION

Language

No traveller along the United States-Mexican border is unaware of the use of Spanish and English languages on both sides of the border.

[7]Contingency coefficients expressing this relationship were: .39, .36, .47, .47, and .36. The Chi Square scores and pertinent degrees of freedom were as follows: 265.9, 14df; 45.1, 14df; 29.4, 16df; 320.9, 16df; and 41.7, 8df. All Chi Square measures are significant at the $p < .05$ level. The various measures of closeness of relationship of Big A components to the various components of the indexes of both behavioral and desired linkages suggests that hypothesis 2 (page ~~35~~) would be validated if it had been correlated with these composite indexes.

Facility in both languages is clearly a potential for linkage across the border. Table 4 shows the tabulated results of the investigation establishing the number of informants who spoke a language other than their mother tongue, and who spoke both Spanish and English in their homes. The Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States demonstrate their linking capacity with the largest proportion speaking the across-the-border language in their homes. With the high proportion of that group also speaking English, about 85 percent appear to be bilingual.

TABLE 4—Citizens of Mexico and the United States who speak "foreign" languages, and Spanish and English in their homes

Language spoken	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking xx	Urban	Rural
Language foreign to country	13.7	8.9	86.0	11.4	8.7
No foreign language	86.1	91.1	14.0	88.1	91.3
No response	.2	--	--	.5	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent speaking:					
Spanish	3.2	.2	86.0	96.0*	97.0*
English	92.5*	99.0*	85.4	8.0	--

*Interviewer's statement concerning language background.

xx originally

Across-The-Border Use of Mass Media

To appraise the influence of viewing and listening to radio and TV programs and reading magazines and newspapers from across the border, an inventory was made concerning such contacts. These data for the various samples are summarized in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 5—Citizens of Mexico and the United States who receive radio or television programs which cross the United States-Mexican border and other foreign countries

Reception of programs	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
A foreign country, but not across United States-Mexican border	3.2	6.9	.6	1.0	.7
Across border and other countries	.2	--	.7	3.8	2.4
Only from across border	.7	.2	33.3	16.9	10.4
No foreign programs	95.1	91.3	52.7	78.1	86.2
No response	.8	1.6	12.7	.2	.3
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 6—Citizens of Mexico and the United States who receive newspapers and magazines from across the United States-Mexican border, and other foreign countries

Reception from foreign countries	UNITED STATES						MEXICO			
	General public		Rural Michigan		Spanish-speaking		Urban		Rural	
	News	Magazines	News	Magazines	News	Magazines	News	Magazines	News	Magazines
Foreign country but not across United States-Mexican border	1.4	1.3	.3	.5	.6	--	--	.1	.2	--
Across border and other countries	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.7	--	.7
Only from across border	--	.2	--	--	4.8	4.6	.6	28.9	--	8.3
No foreign newspapers and magazines	97.1	97.0	99.5	99.5	94.6	93.8	99.4	70.2	99.8	91.0
No response	1.5	1.5	.2	--	--	1.6	--	.1	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Samples representing the United States general public and rural Michigan report minimal contact with foreign mass media, including those from Mexico. From 10 to 17 percent of the Mexican population appear to be in contact with TV and radio programs from the United States and over one-third of the Latinos of the Southwestern United States are highly involved in the linking processes between the two nations as their radio-listening habits demonstrate.

An index of mass media linkage was developed in which contact across the border through the use of magazines, newspaper and TV and/or radio was scored 3, no contact the count of 0 and intermediate contacts were scored 2 and 1. Following general procedure to be reported throughout this study, the summations of these counts constitute the quantification by which the mass media Big B items were correlated, collectively and individually, with sociological variables. The relationship between mass communication linkage across the United States-Mexican border, as measured by this index, and educational attainment in both of the Mexican samples was high (the product moment correlation coefficient expressing the relationship being .42 for the urban and .32 for the rural sample).[8] The relationships in the United States were insignificant, as would be expected from such minimal contact.

[8]Contingency coefficients for the Mexican samples were respectively as follows: .52 and .36. The Chi Square scores with degrees of freedom were 419.9, 24df; and 40.2, 8df. Both are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

CHAPTER 3.
ACTUAL BEHAVIORAL LINKAGES

To ascertain the importance of actual behavioral linkages and contacts across the border between Mexicans and citizens of the United States and/or between Latinos and Anglos within the two countries, a series of questions was developed to measure these two types of linkages. Ten items, eliciting discrete responses to degree of direct and first-hand contact with individuals from across the border were included, along with three items concerning second-hand contacts. Table 1 shows the relation of these items to the total study under the designations Big D, Big E and Big F, and the indexes of which they are composed, ($d_1 \ldots f_3$). Here each of the latter indexes is described and analyzed.

FIRST HAND LINKAGE AND CONTACT

Seven types of linkages between citizens of Mexico and the U.S. were specified in the interviews, five enumerating likely arenas of social activity in which contacts might take place, and two concerning more individual types of contact represented by the questions: "Have you any Mexican/North American friends?" and "Have you ever been to Mexico/United States?"

Friendship Linkages

Table 7 summarizes responses to the question: "Do you, yourself, have any Mexican friends?" (or ". . . North American friends" in the case of the Mexicans). Again the linking function of the Spanish-speaking group of the Southwest is demonstrated by the more than two-thirds

TABLE 7—Citizens of Mexico and the United States who have friends among the citizens of the country across the border

Friends across the border	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes, have friends across the border	18.7	19.5	68.4	15.8	4.2
No, do not have friends across border	81.1	80.5	31.6	83.8	95.8
No response	.2	--	--	.4	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

who claim friendship with Mexican nationals. The schedule used for this sample was written in Spanish, and the designation for the nationality of the friends was "Mexicano," with the additional phrase, "that is to say, people who are natives of Mexico." (The common practice in the Southwestern states of referring to any Spanish-speaking person, native as well as foreign, as "Mexican," suggested the necessity of this precaution.) This friendship item is of particular interest, because it is one of the few questions in the schedule that provides a check on the accuracy of the data. The mutuality of friendship, even allowing for cultural and individual differences in definition and identification of friendship, requires that friendships professed by one group for individuals in the other group be more or less evenly balanced by similar professions of friendship by the second group. Table 7 demonstrates that such mutuality of claim indeed exists, with the Mexican population claiming a scant 1.3 percentage higher friendship than the claim made by the general public of the United States. The slightly greater tendency of rural Michigan to claim Mexican friendships than is true of the general public may reflect the considerable number of Mexicans who through the years have come to Michigan as transient farm workers. The actual indexing of these responses into the summation of tables allotted a 0 to those respondents professing no cross-the-border friend, and a 1 to those who claim to have at least one such friend.

Those who claim to have friends across the United States-Mexican border are more apt to have visited across the border, to have second-hand linkages—that is, through relatives, close friends or a spouse, and more apt to have contact with the linked group in such interaction arenas as church, other formal organizations, neighborhoods, relative groups, and work associates (See correlation tables, Appendix A.). They are also more disposed than others to desire further linkage. This one item concerning friendships across the border is highly correlated with all of the remaining linkage items, both those of actual behavior and of attitude or desire.

Correlation of the same item- -having friends across the border—with educational attainment shows that for the United States general public and for urban Mexico, those having friends tend to be slightly more highly educated than those who do not. For the rural Michigan sample, however, no such relationship appears between across-the-border-friend index and education. The reason for this rural Michigan difference is not clear from the data. It is conjectured, however, that

the Michigan rural sample would have been relatively more exposed to contact with the Mexican migrant farm worker than would the United States general public and that such contacts might over the years develop into friendly contacts of sorts between the Mexican laborers and a wide spectrum of ranks within the rural community. The Michigan farm laborer, as well as the employing farmer, the local storekeepers, the gas station operators, etc. would have ample opportunity for fairly continuous contact. This would tend to randomize the educational level of those professing friendships, in contrast to the demonstrated nation-wide tendency both in the United States and in Mexico for informants to follow the sociological principle of exhibiting greater accessibility for liberalizing influences including a wide range of contacts, as a concomitant of increasingly high educational levels.[9]

Travel Across the Border

Besides friendship, travel to the country across the border completes the items designated as "first-hand" across-the-border contacts. Over one-fifth of the general public of the United States and the urban population of Mexico had either visited or lived in the country across the border. Interestingly, rural Michigan as well as rural Mexico each reported slightly more than 13 percent as having visited or lived on the other side of the border of their home countries. In contrast, 58 percent of the Southwestern sample indicated such contact. While visits of North Americans tend to be short, Mexicans who cross the border tend to stay longer. When informants who have visited the cross-the-border country are compared with those who have not, in terms of their scores on other items measuring behavioral and desired linkage, a consistent positive correlation for the general public of the United States and for the Mexican urban samples is noted, much the same as the correlation mentioned above between having friends across the border and all of the other linkage items. Although informants in the United States who have been to Mexico seemed not to differ in educational attainment from those who had not been there, those from urban Mexico who had visited the United States had lower educational attainment than those who had not. This no doubt reflects the fact

[9]Relationships between educational attainment and having or not having friends across the border have the following Chi square measures with degrees of freedom for the United States general public, rural Michigan and urban Mexico respectively: 31.5, 4df; 3.73, 4df; and 118.5, 4df. The first and last measures are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

that large numbers of unskilled farm and other laborers with low educational attainment work in the United States.[10]

Summary Index for First-Hand Linkages and Contacts

In order to combine the influence of length of stay with contact through actual visit, a summated index was devised. As measured by this index, first-hand linkage is significantly related to educational attainment for all samples except rural Mexico.[11]

LINKAGES IN HOME-BOUND INTERACTION OF LATINOS AND ANGLOS

Although they do not cross the border themselves, some individuals engage in home-bound interaction with nationals from the other side of the border or with fellow citizens of a different ethnic and/or language derivation, in encounters at work, at church, in other formal organizations, in their neighborhoods, or among relatives. Do people so situated have more behavioral linkage as a result of what often might be a formal contact than do others without such contact? Does the interaction spread from the initial arena to other arenas of life? The present chapter deals with these questions, much of the data for which appears in Table 8.

Church Linkage

Table 8 presents data on the percentages of respondents in the five samples who reported that *most* of their associates in church were from groups stemming from across the border as well as the percentages who reported that *some* stem from there.[12]

Two gradations of linkage, that is, "most," and "any" or "some," of the ethnic and/or language composition stemming from the other side of the border were used in the index. When these two are com-

[10]For the general public of the United States, rural Michigan and urban Mexico, the Pearsonian correlation coefficient, Chi Square measures with respective degree of freedom were as follows: $r = .8$, $x^2 = 51.4$, 9df; $r = .14$, $x^2 = 3.4$, 6df; and $r = -.12$, $x^2 = 19.4$, 12df. Only the first Chi Square measure is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[11]Product moment coefficients expressing this relationship were as follows: .19, .20, .23, .31, .09; for the United States general public, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos, urban Mexico and rural Mexico. The Chi Square scores with pertinent frequencies were as follows: 91.6, 21df; 38.5, 21df; 27.4, 24df; 172.3, 24df; and 9.0, 12df.

[12]To obtain the data presented in Table 8 informants were asked: "Consider only the members of your church whom you know personally. Which of the following language or racial backgrounds do MOST OF THESE PEOPLE belong to?" For the United States samples these were as follows: "1) White, English-speaking, 2) Spanish-speaking background, 3) Negro, English-speaking, 4) Other, specify:_____." Schedules used in Mexico had the following categories: "Now, do ANY of them come from any other background: If 'yes' ask 'Which background?'" 1) Mexicanos que no hablan ninguna lengua indigena, 2) Indigenas que no hablan Español, 3) Mexicanos o indigenas que hablan Español e idiomas indigenas, 4) Negros que hablan Español, 5) Otro. (The interviewer had the above categories on the schedule.)

TABLE 8—Potential basis for systemic linkage through home-bound interaction arenas with people who stem from across the border

Arenas of interaction	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish-speaking			Urban			Rural		
	Associates are Spanish-speaking to the following extent:**									Associates are English-speaking to the following extent:**					
	Most	Some	Total	Most	Some	Total	Most	Some	Total	Most	Some	Total	Most	Some	Total
Friends, neighbors and co-workers off the job	1.4	7.0	8.4	--	3.9	3.9	70.9 (14.0)*	10.2 (37.0)	81.1 (51.0)	--	3.0	3.0	--	--	--
Relatives not living in informant's home	2.1	1.3	~~4.4~~ 3.4	.3	1.1	1.4	86.8 (4.5)	2.7 (16.5)	89.5 (21.0)	--	4.0	4.0	--	--	--
Members of church known personally	1.4	7.2	8.6	.2	6.3	6.5	67.0 (22.7)	12.9 (16.5)	79.9 (~~62.7~~) 39.2	--	4.0	4.0	--	1.0	1.0
Members known personally in informant's most important formal organization (non-religious)	.3	5.7	6.0	.1	4.0	4.1	10.5 (8.8)	6.4 (5.5)	16.9 (14.3)	--	1.1	1.1	--	--	--
Co-workers on the job	.8	7.0	7.8	.5	4.4	4.9	27.2 (10.5)	10.7 (14.6)	37.9 (25.~~0~~)	--	1.2	1.2	--	--	--

*Percentages in parentheses are for English-speaking associates.

**Percentages for Mexico and the United States are not exactly comparable because the category, "Spanish-speaking background" appeared in the schedule as used in the United States, whereas the Spanish schedule as used in Mexico did not have the category "English speaking" on it but the percentages were derived from those listed by the interviewer under a category "other".

bined, between 6 and 9 percent in rural Michigan and the general public of the United States may be considered linked in church. Only 4 and 1 percent, respectively, of the urban and rural respondents in Mexico were so linked. By far the greatest linkage in church is, of course, in the Spanish-speaking Latino group of the Southwest.

Persons who are linked in church tend to have behavioral linkages in other interaction arenas both of the home-bound type discussed in the present section and others (correlation tables, Appendix A). Likewise those linked in church tend to desire more linkage in terms of the measures discussed in the sections below. Since many, perhaps most, of those reporting church linkages are Catholics, the linkage factor may merely reflect the influence of an intervening variable, the Catholic religion. In none of the samples do respondents with church linkage appear significantly different in educational attainment from those without such linkages.

Linkage in Non-Church Formal Organizations

For information on this type of linkage, informants were asked about their membership organizaitons that meet more or less regularly such as societies, fraternal organizations, educational groups or recreational organizations, labor unions, farm organizations, or business or professional organizations. They then were asked, "Among these non-religious groups and organizations that you have mentioned in the last two questions, which ONE is the most important to you?"[13]

As will be noted from Table 8, there are fewer linkages in non-religious formal organizations than in the church. Mexicans in particular reported few linkages in formal organizations of the non-religious type. There was some tendency for informants in the United States general public sample who were linked in the formal organizations to have higher education status when there were "some" Spanish-speaking members and to have lower attainment when "most" were of this language and ethnic background.

Linkage with Relatives Stemming from Across the Border

As with linkages in church and other formal organizations just discussed, an effort was made to ascertain the extent of linkage of

[13]After ascertaining the attendance at this organization and its nature, the following question was asked: "Now, consider only those members of these organizations *whom you know personally* . . . consider the language or racial backgrounds of those members *whom you know personally*. To which one of the following language or racial backgrounds do MOST of them belong?" Categories listed above on church linkage were used here also. "Now, do ANY of the members *whom you know personally* come from any other language or racial background?"

informants with relatives not living at home but who lived in or stemmed from the country across the border. Not only was such informant asked, "How often do you get together with any of your relatives, other than those living at home with you?" but also, "To which of the following language or racial backgrounds do MOST of these relatives belong?" Here the same procedures and set of categories were used as in the last two items.

As will be noted in Table 8, about 4 percent of the United States general public and the urban sample of Mexico interact with relatives who stemmed from across the border. Only 1.4 percent of the rural Michigan, and none of the rural Mexican informants reported having relatives with whom they interacted and who stemmed from across the border. The extensive linkage of the Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States is well demonstrated in Table 8. Almost 9 out of 10 report that they interact with relatives stemming from Mexico, and 2 out of 10 interact with relatives stemming from the United States. These proportions demonstrate the linkage potential of this segment of the population.

Among Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States, those interacting with relatives of this language and racial background more frequently interact with this same group in the other interaction arenas as contrasted to those who do not so interact (correlation tables, Appendix A). Comparisons of educational attainment revealed no differences in the three samples for which data are available between those linked with relatives and those without such linkage. So far as educational attainment measures social rank, interacting with relatives from the other side of the border appears not to be class or caste bound.

Linkages with Neighbors Stemming from Across the Border

Informants in all of the five samples were asked, "How often do you get together with any of your neighbors?" "How often do you get together, *outside of work*, with any of the people you (your husband) work(s) with?" And, "How often do you get together with any other friends?" [14]

Table 8 indicates the extent of linkage in friendship, neighbor and co-worker off-the-job arenas with actors stemming from across the

[14]For the purposes of the present section they were then asked, "Now, consider the language or racial backgrounds of these friends, neighbors and co-workers. To which of the following groups do MOST of them belong?" "Now, are ANY of your friends, neighbors, and co-workers of different language or racial background?" The language and racial categories used are the same as those in the preceding three items.

border. As with the other items already discussed, only the Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States report extensive linkage. The 8.4 percent of the informants in the United States general public sample who report linkages with neighbors, off-work and other acquaintances who stem from across the border are in general much more frequently linked in other activities and generally more favorably disposed to more linkage than are those without this form of linkage. The 3.9 percent of the informants in the rural Michigan sample who are thus linked more frequently report linkages with fellow workers, relatives and friends who stem from across the border than those who do not report these linkages (correlation table, Appendix A).

Informants in the United States general public sample who report the above linkages tend to have higher educational status than those who do not have such linkages. For the other samples studied in this regard, namely, rural Michigan and urban Mexico, differences were not statistically significant. But for rural Michigan there appeared a tendency for those reporting this type of linkage to have lower educational achievement than those without such linkage.[15] There is again indication that linkage of Anglos and Latinos in rural Michigan takes place at lower educational and class levels. Table 9 indicates Mexicans and Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States generally interact with neighbors more frequently than do Anglo-Americans.

Linkages with Work Associates on the Job

In addition to the data just discussed concerning linkages with co-worker off the job, linkages on the job also were studied. Inasmuch as on-the-job associations often differ from off-the-job associations,[16] Table 8 summarizes the percentages of informants in the five samples who report on-the-job linkage with co-workers stemming from across the border. Few Mexicans report working on the job with North Americans but almost 8 percent of the United States general public and almost 5 percent of the rural Michigan informants report contacts with Spanish-speaking workers on the job. That the Spanish-speaking Latinos in Southwestern United States report fewer Latino and fewer Anglo workmates on the job than they report for church and neighborhood

[15]When non-mention of "any" Spanish-speaking linkage is given the count of 0, and mention of it is given the count of 1, the product moment correlation coefficient expressing this relationship with school grades completed as −.15. This coefficient is significant at the $p < .05$ level, but the Chi Square score from the same table is only 4.5 with 3 degrees of freedom. For the general public of the United States and urban Mexico the corresponding correlation coefficients were: .15 and −.05. The pertinent Chi Square scores with pertinent degrees of freedom were: 12.8, 3df; and 2.4, 4df.

[16]All informants were asked, "To which of the following language or racial backgrounds do MOST people with whom you work closely on the job belong? The same procedures in questioning were used as reported in the immediately previous items.

TABLE 9--Frequency of interaction of citizens of Mexico and of the United States with neighbors, co-workers, in situations off the job, and with other friends

Frequency of interaction	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish speaking			Urban			Rural		
	Neighbors	Co-workers off the job	Other friends	Neighbors	Co-workers off the job	Other friends	Neighbors	Co-workers off the job	Other friends	Neighbors	Co-workers off the job	Other friends	Neighbors	Co-workers off the job	Other friends
About every-day	18.6	4.3	5.5	17.4	2.0	2.3	23.0	23.9	7.8	29.6	18.9	18.0	43.5	30.0	23.7
At least once a week	25.7	15.2	30.8	26.4	16.6	29.2	30.6	13.4	44.7	15.7	12.4	17.3	20.6	13.6	14.6
A few times a month	11.3	12.0	19.7	14.2	8.1	18.4	3.4	1.0	5.2	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.2	2.4	5.2
About once a month	9.4	10.9	17.0	6.3	8.3	18.4	15.4	11.2	19.6	7.9	8.5	[illegible]	7.7	4.5	9.1
A few times a year	9.6	14.4	15.8	11.3	17.0	19.1	5.6	4.6	6.8	5.2	6.1	5.6	3.5	3.5	8.0
About once a year or less	4.0	7.5	2.6	4.7	12.4	5.1	1.8	9.1	5.0	7.4	5.3	6.7	3.8	2.4	3.1
Never	20.9	32.2	8.5	19.7	32.8	7.5	18.8	29.3	10.9	30.3	45.2	37.0	16.4	42.9	35.3
No response	.5	3.5	.1	--	2.8	--	1.4	7.5	--	.4	.6	.4	.3	.7	1.0
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

is in part due to the large number of "no responses" to the question.[17] Furthermore, a larger proportion of these Latinos are farmers or farm laborers than is characteristic of the other samples, except rural Mexican. Often farm work is more or less family work and hence does not involve people of other backgrounds. The much more frequent interaction of co-workers off the job among Mexicans than among Anglo-Americans indicates life in a less-differentiated society in Mexico than in the United States (Table 9). Workers, many of whom are kinfolk and old time friends, may return to neighborhoods within which they have lived for long periods. As we shall note in Chapter 6, the mobility of Mexicans is much more restricted than that of Anglo-Americans.

For the United States general public sample the informants who worked in settings in which *most* co-workers stemmed from across the border, less than 1 percent of the total were of lower educational attainment than those not reporting such a linkage. The 7 percent who reported only *some* co-workers from across the border or of Spanish-speaking background were of higher educational attainment than those who reported none.

Summary Index for Linkages in Home-Bound Interaction Arenas

Items concerning linkages in home-bound interaction arenas were combined into a summary measure, designated as Big E, composed of the five small e's, represented in Table 1. The scores for informants ranged from 5, for contacts with people stemming from across the border in all 5 arenas, through 0, for no contacts with these people in any of the arenas. There was no high positive correlation between educational attainment and interaction of Anglos with Latinos in Anglo samples in the United States as measured by Big E. Since educational attainment is closely related to social rank or status, and Spanish-speaking or Latino residents of the United States are frequently of lower rank, this result was expected.[18]

SECOND HAND OR INDIRECT LINKAGE AND ITS CONTRIBUTION

What contribution do indirect linkages make toward producing favorable attitudes toward desire for linkage? Here will be considered

[17]For the question requesting specification of *most* common background, half of the respondents in the samples failed to answer. For *any* Spanish-speaking linkage, over ¾ of the samples failed to answer.

[18]The product moment correlation coefficients indicating the relationship between this index and educational attainment in Mexico for the urban and rural samples was as follows: .22 and .13. For the United States general public, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos, urban Mexicans and rural Mexicans respectively, the relationship between these two variables is expressed by the following contingency coefficients: .21, .23, .39, .31, and .20. From the pertinent Chi Square scores only the first and the fourth items are judged to be significant at the $p < .05$ level.

the possible impact on the informant of relatives and close friends, who, although they may live in an actor's home country, have been across the border. In an attempt to provide answers to this question all informants were asked whether their own spouses, friends, and relatives with whom they were in contact had been to the country across the border. A considerably larger proportion of informants have close friends and relatives who have been to the country across the border than have been there themselves. Potential intimate sources of information about the across-the-border country are explored in the following discussion of items.

Second-Hand Linkage via Relatives

Approximately one-third of informants in the general public of the United States, rural Michigan, and rural Mexico have relatives who have visited the country across the border from their homeland. For urban Mexicans the proportion was larger (43 percent) and as would be expected, the proportion of Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States having such relatives was very much greater (67 percent). The informants in the United States general public, rural Michigan, and urban Mexico who reported having this second-hand linkage with Mexico all reported higher educational attainment than those who did not have this linkage.[19]

Those informants who report having relatives who have visited across the border are much more likely to have made such visits themselves and to exhibit more behavioral and desired linkages than those with no such relatives. The greatest difference in this respect between those having and not having such relatives was found in the United States general public and urban Mexico; the least difference occurred among informants in rural Michigan and rural Mexico. So that the second-hand or indirect linkage through relatives may reflect the influence of time spent across the border, informants were asked to think of the relative who had spent the most time across the border and to indicate how long he had been there. As in the case of the informants' own visits across the border, relatives of the United States nationals differ markedly from those of Mexicans in the length of their visits. In general, the status-role of temporary tourist best characterises the relatives of the United States citizens visiting Mexico. Among relatives

[19]For the general public of the United States, rural Michigan and urban Mexico the correlation coefficients, Chi Square measures and degrees of freedom are respectively: $r = .18$, $x^2 = 53.5$, 3df; $r = .17$, $x^2 = 14.1$, 3df; $r = .23$, $x^2 = 54.9$, 4df. These coefficients were available only for these three samples.

of Mexicans a large number have been in the United States for one year or more, indicating that they are, or were, there as workers or students, and some may have acquired United States citizenship.

Second-Hand Linkages via Close Friends

Slightly less than one-fourth of the informants in urban Mexico and slightly less than one-third of the informants from the United States general public report that they have close friends who have visited the country across the border. The percentage of Spanish-speaking Latinos in the Southwestern United States with such indirect linkages was 58.8 percent indicating again the strong linkage potential of this group. Rural Mexicans and rural Michiganders less frequently reported close friends who had visited across the border, these proportions being respectively 16.0 and 18.7. In general, the informants who had this form of linkage had a higher educational status than those without such linkage. The United States general public sample manifests the greatest differences between those informants who claim second-hand linkages through close friends and those who make no such claim. For example, those having such friends are more prone to state that they would be willing to move to Mexico, an item to be discussed presently.

For the rural Michigan sample, the 19 percent who claim close friends who have visited Mexico when compared wtih the remaining 81 percent show the following differences: They more frequently claim to have Mexican friends, more frequently have been to Mexico, have more frequently been in contact with Spanish-speaking neighbors and fellow workers, and place Mexico higher on the "friendship ladder," an index discussed below (correlation tables, Appendix A).

The patterns of duration of stay or visit in the country across the border for these close friends follow the general pattern discussed previously: Mexicans as workers, students, etc. seem to stay longer in the United States than United States citizens as tourists stay in Mexico.

The third item in the second-hand linkage index was linkage via the spouse. In general the proportion of informants who reported a spouse who had been to the cross-the-border country was not greatly different from that of the respondents themselves. In fact many married couples crossed the border together. The significance of independent visits made by the spouse when the informant did not go remains to be appraised.

Summary Index of Indirect Linkage

The sum across the "f" or indirect linkages indexes (Table 1) yields a set of scores for each informant, ranging from 0 to 6: Six equals most second-hand linkage across the border and 0 equals no second-hand contact there. This summated index is called "Big F" (Table 1), and it is positively correlated with educational attainment.[20]

SUMMATION OF ALL BEHAVIORAL LINKAGE INDEXES

The indexes concerning first hand contact across the border (Table 1, Big D), contact between Anglos and Latinos in home-bound interaction arenas (Table 1, Big E), and indirect or second-hand linkage (Table 1, Big F), were combined into a summary measure with values ranging from 0 to 14, with 0 equaling the least behavioral linkage and 14 the most.

In the various samples the percentages scoring no linkages as this is here measured are as follows: United States general public, 39; rural Michigan, 42; urban Mexico, 41; and rural Mexico, 54. There are no Spanish-speaking Latinos in the Southwestern United States sample who reported no linkage. This summary index is positively associated with educational attainment. The product moment correlation coefficients expressing this relationship for the United States general public, rural Michigan, the Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States, urban Mexico and rural Mexico are as follows: .25, .28, .31, .37 and .20.[21]

[20]Correlation coefficients indicating this relationship for the general public of the United States, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos, urban and rural Mexicans were respectively as follows: .28, .29, .21, .32 and .21. The contingency coefficients were respectively: .35, .41, .51, .37 and .35. The Chi Square measures with degrees of freedom from which those last coefficients were derived were respectively as follows: 218.3, 42df; 62.4, 42df; 36.9, 48df; 178.9, 48 df; and 40.2, 20df. Only the Spanish-speaking Latino Chi Square are not significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[21]The contingency coefficients measuring these relationships areas follows: .36, .54, .71, .45 and .36. The Chi Square scores and related degrees of freedom are as follows: 230.1, 91df; 122.8, 70df; 106.9, 104df; 289.2, 96df; and 41.6, 36df.

CHAPTER 4. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ACROSS-THE-BORDER COUNTRY AND TOWARD LINKAGES WITH THAT COUNTRY

This section will describe an index designed to reflect "desire for linkage" and including attitudinal components for measuring the potential of one nation and one nation's citizens to collaborate with another.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ACROSS-THE-BORDER COUNTRY AS A NATION

Four items, identified as g_1 through g_4 in Table 1, sought to probe attitudes about the country across the border, shorn of the personal and individual elements, and concentrating on the perceived national image.

Informants were asked to indicate their personal reactions to the following statements: "Our leaders should be working more with leaders of Mexico (or the United States)" and "Our country should have closer connections and ties with Mexico (or the United States)." As indicated in Table 10, there is strong endorsement of both items in all samples. The tendency for the United States general public and for rural Michigan to be indecisive is notably strong, whereas the Mexicans tend to agree more strongly with the statements as the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest, who are overwhelmingly in favor of more cooperation. The well-known general "set reaction" or tendency of Mexicans to give, relatively more frequently than North Americans, the positive rather than the negative answer cannot be held responsible for the more marked Mexican agreement expressed in this table, although it may well play a part.[22]

[22]In the present study the 25 similar statements were studied in some detail for the largest sample in the United States, the general public, and the largest sample in Mexico, the urban sample. The percentage answering the following categories were averaged: 1-strongly agree; 2-slightly agree; 3-don't know; 4-slightly disagree; and 5-strongly disagree. The mean percentages and standard deviations for categories 1 and 2 were as follows; 1-strongly agree: means were 38.30 for the United States general public, and 44.69 for urban Mexico. 2-slightly agree: means were 20.75 and 27.59 respectively. The standard deviations for the first pair of means were respectively 18.64 and 17.60. For the second, 6.96 and 5.75. For category 1 the urban Mexican mean was 6.69 higher than the mean for the United States general public. For category 2, the urban Mexican mean was 6.84 higher than for the United States general public. For category 3, the mean for the general public of the United States was 1.12 greater. For category 4, the United States mean was 3.86 greater, and for 5, 9.68 greater.

TABLE 10—Desire for greater linkage between the United States and Mexico: desire for more cooperation between leaders and desire for closer ties

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
DESIRE MORE COOPERATION					
Yes, strongly agree	25.5	21.1	62.0	37.4	36.5
Yes, slightly agree	29.1	30.0	14.4	34.1	32.3
Don't know	26.1	26.6	9.3	7.4	14.9
No, slightly disagree	10.5	13.5	8.7	11.6	7.3
No, strongly disagree	8.0	8.4	2.9	9.2	9.0
Refusal, other	.8	.4	2.7	.3	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
DESIRE CLOSER TIES					
Yes, strongly agree	29.4	24.0	68.2	42.6	39.1
Yes, slightly agree	30.6	33.6	12.6	36.0	35.8
Don't know	22.9	21.9	8.6	7.3	15.3
No, slightly disagree	10.3	12.9	4.4	7.5	5.6
No, strongly disagree	6.1	7.2	3.5	6.3	4.2
Refusal, other	.7	.4	2.7	.3	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Would You Move to the Country Across the Border?

This question was put after all the informants had been asked, "Can you imagine conditions could get to the point that you would consider moving to another country?" If the answer to this latter question was "yes," the informant was asked specifically, "Would you move to Mexico (to the United States)?" Thirteen percent of the urban and 9 percent of the rural Mexican informants reported willingness to move across the border, in contrast to only 6 percent of the sample of United States citizens indicating such a desire. Although willingness to move to the across-the-border country was regarded by all consultants on the study as an item that would reflect strong favorable attitudes toward the nation across the border, it is interesting to note that those stating they would consider making such a move do not differ markedly from those who would not with respect to the other behavioral and attitudinal indexes. As indicated in Appendix A, willingness vs. unwillingness to move to the cross-the-border country is not so highly correlated with the other items as some of the other items are with each other. However, it is worthy of note that the 6 percent in the United States general public who would consider moving to Mexico reported having second-hand contact with Mexico through relatives and close friends more frequently than others. Also, the 3 percent of rural Michiganders who would consider moving to Mexico more frequently had linkages with Spanish-speaking neighbors, friends in

Mexico, Latino fellow workers, and they were more apt to want Mexican friends and to be friendly toward the Mexican people than others. Those who expressed willingness to move from the homeland across the border were little different from others in educational attainment.

Evaluation of the Cross-the-Border Country as a Nation

To elicit each informant's evaluation of the nation across the border on a scale ranging from good to bad, a self-anchoring scale was used (6). This scale employs the device of a 10-step ladder with the concept of the ideal or best being at the top and least ideal or worst at the bottom. By the time in the interview when the items reported in this monograph were introduced, the informant had had considerable experience with this self-anchoring procedure. The interviewer described the informant's task as follows: "Now, let's think of the top of the ladder as the place where things stand that are very good, and the bottom of the ladder as the place where things stand that are very bad. On which step would you place (name of your home country). Where would you place (name of the country across the border)? Where would you place the Soviet Union?"

Table 11 presents the results of these evaluations. First it should be noted that the patterns of evaluation of the home country by residents of Mexico and the United States, including rural Michigan, are essentially the same. Slightly less than half place their own country on the top rung and less than 1 percent place it on the bottom rung. The major difference in the samples representing the two countries is for the evaluation of the country across the border. The evaluation of Mexicans of the United States on the dimension of *good* and *bad* is much more favorable than the evaluation of Mexico by citizens of the United States. The Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States make the highest evaluation of the United States recorded but their evaluation of Mexico is also higher than that given by fellow citizens of Anglo origin. Here again their marginality shows up and even this evaluation indicates their role as agents of linkage; loyal to their home country but favorably disposed to Mexico and Mexicans. For the three samples on which correlations and other analyses were run to ascertain the importance of educational attainment in evaluation (the United States general public, rural Michigan, and urban Mexico), evaluation of the home country was found to be unrelated to educational attainment. However, with reference to evaluations

TABLE 11—Mexico, United States and Russia, evaluated as nations at various steps on a continuum from good to bad

	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish-speaking			Urban			Rural		
Ladder step	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia
TOP															
10	1.6	45.3	1.5	1.6	41.4	.6	11.9	80.9	2.1	44.5	37.3	9.7	49.4	25.1	5.9
9	2.3	15.5	3.0	1.5	15.5	2.1	25.4	11.3	4.1	17.3	27.4	11.6	15.3	27.2	8.0
8	3.6	18.8	6.7	2.5	16.8	3.7	10.8	5.2	5.8	18.1	15.8	14.4	14.6	18.0	18.7
7	5.3	8.2	10.5	5.2	13.0	7.8	12.2	1.8	7.6	7.1	6.7	10.0	4.5	7.6	8.7
6	8.8	3.3	10.0	5.5	6.6	10.6	12.5	--	6.1	4.9	3.8	8.5	5.2	5.6	9.7
5	19.9	4.2	17.5	23.0	3.7	12.7	13.0	--	4.9	4.6	2.5	9.3	2.8	2.4	4.9
4	16.1	1.0	8.5	8.8	1.1	13.4	8.6	--	8.1	.6	.9	5.9	.3	1.0	6.9
3	15.5	.8	10.1	14.9	--	12.7	1.8	--	12.5	.3	.8	4.6	.3	1.0	3.5
2	9.6	.2	8.4	12.4	.5	7.6	--	--	11.1	.1	.4	3.8	--	.3	2.8
1	5.9	.2	9.1	7.3	--	8.5	.8	--	6.5	.3	.1	2.3	--	.3	3.8
0	2.5	.2	9.7	4.6	.3	14.3	1.4	--	27.6	.1	1.1	14.4	.3	1.4	12.5
Don't know, refusal etc.	8.9	2.3	5.0	12.7	1.1	6.0	1.6	.8	3.6	2.1	3.2	5.5	7.3	10.1	14.6
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

of the country across the border, there was a low positive correlation between educational attainment and favorable evaluation of the other country, for rural Michigan ($r = .14$) and for urban Mexico ($r = .17$). For the United States general public the evaluation of Mexico on this scale was not significantly correlated with educational attainment ($r = .05$).

The placement of the country across the border as above described and placement on a scale of "felt friendliness toward the people there" is highly and positively correlated. Since self-anchoring procedures were used in both placements, the instrumentation may account for some of the correlation. In other words, the use of the ladder and the step chosen on it may have been influential, and not alone the informant's evaluation. However, as noted below, the placement on the friendship ladder is correlated with most of the indexes for behavioral and desired linkage, but the placement on the evaluation ladder from *good* to *bad* as just discussed is not so frequently related in the various samples to so many of the indexes. There are, however, ways in which informants who placed the nation across the border high on the scale differ from those who place it low (correlation tables, Appendix A). Mexicans who evaluated the United States highly also scored the citizens of the United States closer on the social distance scale; that is, claim to be more willing to be co-workers, neighbors, citizens, and intermarry with them. Such relations do not hold generally for the United States samples and placement of Mexicans on the social distance scales. However, informants in the United States general public and in rural Michigan who evaluated Mexico most highly on this ladder rating tended to express a desire for more Mexican friends. They also manifested more favorable attitudes toward collaboration of the nations (g_1 and g_2) and were willing to have Mexicans as neighbors more frequently than those who evaluated Mexico less favorably on the self-anchoring ladder.

Summary Index of Attitudes Toward, and Desired Linkage of, the Country Across the Border as a Nation

From the two attitudinal items concerning the merit of leaders working together and Mexico and the United States having closer connections (g_1 and g_2), desire and/or willingness to move to the country across the border (g_3), and the evaluative ladder rating of the country across the border (g_4), an over-all index based upon the simple summation of scores for each informant was developed. This index, desig-

nated as "Big G" in Table 1, has five possible values with 4 equaling the most positive score and 0 the most negative score. The index, Big G, for all samples except rural Michigan and the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States was significantly and positively related to educational attainment of informants as measured by both product moment correlation and contingency coefficients.[23]

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PEOPLE OF THE ACROSS-THE-BORDER COUNTRY

Whereas the previous four indexes summarized in Big G deal to a considerable degree with attitudes toward pluralities, especially the nation, the next two focus upon the *people* across the border.

Desire for Friends Across the Border

In Table 7, data regarding friendship linkages were summarized. All informants who reported having friends across the border were asked if they would like to have *more* such friends. Almost all of these individuals indicated they would like more friends.

None of the variables included in the study is more generally related to other "little" indexes of desired linkage and the various indexes of behavioral linkage than that of desire to have across the border friends, or actually having such friends, as discussed above (correlation tables, Appendix A). For most of the samples those informants who reported that they desired across the border friends are closer to the people across the border on the social distance scales; that is, they are less likely to reject them as neighbors, co-workers, citizens and as family members. Furthermore, in the United States general public as well as the rural Michigan samples, those desiring more friends than they now have across the border more frequently interact with neighbors and with across the border friends, they more frequently have second-hand contact *via* close friends, more frequently desire collaboration between the two nations, and feel more friendly toward the people across the border (correlation tables, Appendix A).

Placement on the Friendship Ladder

After informants had used the self-anchoring ladder to evaluate the United States, Mexico, and Russia, as reported in Table 11, each

[23]For the general public of the United States, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos of southwestern United States, urban Mexico and rural Mexico, the product moment correlation coefficients expressing this relation were: .17, .19, −.03, .13 and .18. The respective contingency coefficients are .23, .33, .50, .26 and .29. Respective Chi Square measures and pertinent degrees of freedom were 87.0, 28df; 38.3, 28df; 34.5, 32df; 84.5, 32df; and 26.0, 16df.

was told, "Now, let's think of the top of the ladder as the place where those nations stand whose *people* you feel most friendly toward, and the bottom of the ladder as the place where the nations stand whose *people* you feel least friendly to. On which step would you place the *people* of (here the home country was named). Where would you place (here the across the border country was named). Where would you place the Russian *people*?"

The results of this questioning are tabulated in Table 12. As in the case of the evaluation scores reported in Table 11, the informants in the various samples with the exception of the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States placed the people of their home nation in such a manner as to produce much the same pattern. Almost three out of four placed the people of the home country on the top step, and a negligible number placed them on the bottom. A comparison of the placement of the home country by the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States on the friendship ladder (Table 12) and on the "evaluation of the nation ladder" (Table 11) indicates that whereas this group evaluates their home country, the United States as a nation, more highly than the informants of any of the other four samples, when it comes to the feeling of friendliness toward a country's people, they place Mexico slightly above their home country. Mexicans report that they feel more friendly toward the people of the United States than North Americans of the United States say that they feel toward the Mexican people. Friendliness toward the people of Russia is not great for any of the samples.

For the general public of the United States, rural Michigan, and urban Mexico, the samples for which data measuring the relationship between educational attainment and placement on the friendship ladder were available, the correlation was positive—the more educated the informant, the higher he was likely to place the people across the border. Product moment correlation coefficients for the three samples were respectively .14, .26 and .20.[24]

Summary Index Showing Desire for Linkage of People to People

The preceding two items were combined by simple summation into an index called "Big H," which is significantly and positively correlated

[24]For these samples the respective Chi Square scores with the respective degrees of freedom are as follows: 56.4, 30df; 55.4, 30df; and 111.4, 40df. All these Chi Square scores, like the product moment coefficients, are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 12—Friendliness felt toward people of Mexico, United States, and Russia

Ladder step	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish-speaking			Urban			Rural		
	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia	Mexico	United States	Russia
TOP															
10	13.4	72.3	7.1	12.0	73.7	7.8	69.0	45.3	2.9	74.8	27.5	5.1	66.8	18.7	4.5
9	10.5	11.0	4.6	6.9	7.9	3.0	12.2	21.1	3.3	11.3	34.5	5.0	9.4	34.0	5.2
8	14.2	8.9	8.7	12.2	10.2	7.1	8.5	10.3	2.0	6.0	16.3	14.4	8.3	17.7	14.6
7	10.9	2.1	6.8	11.8	3.7	9.7	3.9	4.8	3.9	2.2	6.4	7.9	2.8	4.2	7.6
6	9.5	1.5	7.3	5.3	3.3	8.6	.8	9.0	7.1	1.9	4.0	10.0	2.8	3.8	6.9
5	16.7	2.2	17.0	16.9	.1	12.4	2.4	5.9	10.2	.8	3.5	10.5	1.7	4.9	9.0
4	5.0	.3	8.0	7.8	--	9.9	1.4	2.0	13.5	.3	1.4	6.2	.7	1.7	5.6
3	4.9	--	8.5	8.3	--	8.2	1.0	--	10.3	.3	.9	3.5	.3	2.1	3.5
2	4.5	--	5.1	3.0	--	7.2	--	--	9.1	--	.6	6.3	.3	--	6.2
1	2.0	.1	9.6	2.6	--	7.3	--	.8	5.5	--	.4	3.9	--	.7	3.8
0	2.2	--	12.1	4.6	.2	14.1	--	--	29.4	.1	1.4	22.1	.3	7.8	20.3
Don't know refusal etc.	6.2	1.6	5.2	8.6	.9	4.7	.8	.8	2.8	2.3	3.1	5.1	6.6	9.4	12.8
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

with educational attainment for all samples except the Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States and for rural Mexico.[25]

SOCIAL DISTANCE AS A MEASURE OF DESIRE FOR BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE OR FOR LINKAGE

In all five samples each informant was asked to indicate which, if any, of a list of religious, racial and ethnic groups he would prefer *not* to have related to himself in various ways. The Bogardus (3) social distance scale, an instrument social scientists use to measure prejudice, was employed.

For many readers, the prejudice of Mexicans compared to that of their neighbors to the north, as reflected in Table 13, will come as a surprise. Various writers have maintained that there prevails a general humanitarian ethos in Mexico that makes racial, religious and ethnic prejudice less common there than in the United States (8). Also, various writers picture some regions of the United States as inhabited by people among whom bigotry is common and prejudice high (17). Table 13 tells a different story. In general, Mexicans manifest a surprising amount of prejudice, particularly toward Protestants, Negroes, Jews and Indians, especially those Indians who do not speak Spanish. The rather high prejudice manifested toward "whites" appears to be responses of Mexicans who take pride in brown or "Indian" color, a characteristic of considerable value, for example, in running for political office in Mexico. The greater prejudice in Mexico than in the United States, particularly for such status-roles as fellow citizens or fellow workers, was unexpected by the investigators associated with the present study. However, these facts concerning the relatively high amount of prejudice manifest by the Mexicans as compared with citizens of the United States need to be set against another consideration. The extent of prejudice of Mexicans as compared with that of North Americans is considerably more closely related to educational attainment—the higher the education the less the tendency to reject others who are different. From those facts as indicated below, it seems logical to conclude that if Mexicans were as highly educated as their neighbors to the north their scores on the social distance scales would have been more similar. This, however, does not alter the fact that Mexicans manifest more prejudice than North Americans on the social distance scales at the present time.

[25]For the five samples, the United States general public, rural Michigan, the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States, urban Mexico and rural Mexico, the product moment correlations expressing the relationships are as follows: .16, .24, −.04, .25 and .15. The contingency coefficients are respectively: .19, .27, .29, .28 and .20. The Chi Square scores and pertinent degrees of freedom are respectively: 58.3, 14df; 23.5, 14df; 18.5, 16df; 95.9, 16df; and 12.2, 8df.

TABLE 13—Social distance responses: A—relatives by marriage whom the informants would prefer not to have; B—neighbors whom the informants would prefer not to have; —co-workers whom the informants would prefer not to have; and D—citizens by naturalization whom the informants would prefer not to have

Category	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
A. RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE					
Protestants	5.7	3.0	31.0	67.7	74.9
Catholics	17.4	10.9	3.6	1.8	2.1
Jews	30.7	31.0	34.7	70.6	81.5
Negroes	77.1	87.3	62.8	59.0	78.4
Whites	4.2	.6	3.8	22.6	39.0
Mexicans*	55.1	58.9	1.0	--	--
North Americans**	--	--	--	36.0	56.1
Indians speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	27.1	31.4
Indians not speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	28.0	59.6
Japanese*	61.0	60.2	42.5	--	--
All are acceptable	14.1	6.5	27.8	18.2	11.5
B. NEIGHBORS					
Protestants	.3	--	3.1	59.6	77.8
Catholics	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.6	2.8
Jews	6.0	6.3	7.6	62.4	79.5
Negroes	43.7	45.4	21.4	43.2	71.5
Whites	.6	.2	1.2	17.9	33.3
Mexicans*	21.3	22.5	--	--	--
North Americans**	--	--	--	25.8	49.0
Indians speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	15.3	27.8
Indians not speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	35.5	53.5
Japanese*	18.6	17.1	14.9	--	--
All are acceptable	47.6	48.6	71.4	28.4	14.9
C. CO-WORKERS					
Protestants	.1	--	--	56.0	72.1
Catholics	1.5	.5	1.2	1.3	1.4
Jews	4.1	4.5	10.5	59.3	75.6
Negroes	19.2	17.3	8.0	39.2	70.0
Whites	.2	.2	.5	17.9	33.4
Mexicans*	11.5	9.8	--	--	--
North Americans**	--	--	--	25.6	48.1
Indians speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	15.2	24.2
Indians not speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	37.2	51.9
Japanese*	10.3	8.4	7.2	--	--
All are acceptable	73.5	73.4	79.4	31.6	17.4
D. CITIZENS BY NATURALIZATION					
Protestants	.1	--	--	46.7	71.8
Catholics	.8	.2	.8	1.3	2.4
Jews	1.9	3.6	1.8	60.6	79.1
Negroes	5.2	8.5	4.3	41.5	74.9
Whites	--	--	.8	18.2	35.5
Mexicans*	6.9	6.5	--	--	--
North Americans**	--	--	--	24.9	52.3
Indians speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	14.1	24.4
Indians not speaking Spanish**	--	--	--	28.2	46.7
Japanese*	8.2	9.0	9.3	--	--
All are acceptable	84.6	81.5	85.3	32.8	13.6

*Not analyzed for the Mexican samples.
**Not included in the United States samples.

Social Distance in Marriage Partnership

As indicated by Table 13, boundary maintenance scores were much higher when informants were asked, "Are there any of these groups you would rather not have as members of your immediate family by marriage?" As in the past, uses of the social distance approach to the measurement of prejudice in the United States showed that the barriers on the part of the United States general public were highest for Negroes.[28] Next came Japanese and then for the categories used, Mexicans, with over half of the Anglo-Americans preferring not to intermarry with them. The rural Mexican informants manifest similar barriers to *Norteamericanos* with over half preferring not to marry them, but only slightly more than a third of the urban Mexicans indicate such rejection. Here, it may be noted that for all the status-roles considered —neighbors, co-workers, marriage partners and citizens—Mexicans rejected Protestants more frequently than they rejected North Americans. It may be conjectured that much of the objection to North Americans is due to the prevalence of the Protestant faith in the United States. As will be noted in the discussion of the relation of the sociological variables to indexes of behavioral and desired linkage, religion is of considerable influence in both types of linkage, especially in the urban Mexican sample. As will be noted in Chapter 6, Mexicans appear to evaluate religious activities and organizations more highly than do North Americans.

Social Distance in the Neighborhood

As indicated in Table 13, the tendency to reject cross-the-border nationals as neighbors is much the same on both sides of the border, except that the Spanish-speaking Latinos do not reject Mexicans as frequently as other United States citizens, and the rural Mexicans tend to reject across-the-border citizens as neighbors more than North Americans and other Mexicans. Except for the Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States whose acceptance level for various groups is high, the tendency of informants not to reject across-the-border citizens as neighbors is associated with having friends in the country across the border. Failure to reject across-the-border residents as neighbors is related to many other indexes previously discussed, especially for the United States general public and urban Mexico (correlation tables, Appendix A).

[28]In Table 13 the responses of 171 Negroes and 1,299 whites who composed the sample are not separated. No doubt the whites alone would have registered higher prejudice scores against Negroes (and vice versa) than is indicated by the scores of the whites and Negroes together.

Social Distance on the Job

As in the other social distance items, the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States manifest less prejudice toward Mexicans as co-workers than informants in the other United States samples. Of the two other United States samples, the informants in rural Michigan show the least prejudice for Mexicans. Both urban and rural Mexicans throw up higher boundaries to nationals across the border than do North Americans; almost half of the rural Mexicans state they prefer not to have North Americans as co-workers.

Social Distance in Citizenship

Although more Mexicans seek citizenship in the United States than the reverse, Mexicans throw up higher boundaries to North Americans becoming citizens in Mexico than do North Americans for their across-the-border neighbors (Table 13). Few citizens of the United States reject as citizens any of the categories used in the study and appearing in Table 13. As with the other status-roles for which social distance is probed, the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States manifest least boundary maintenance and prejudice. As with the other social distance scores, the tendency to reject across-the-border residents, especially in the case of the urban Mexicans, is significantly and negatively related to educational attainment; the higher the education the less the tendency to reject. For informants of both Mexican samples the rejection vs. non-rejection of North Americans as citizens is correlated with many of the "little" indexes previously discussed (correlation tables, Appendix A).

Summary Social Distance Index

From the social distance indexes for neighborhood, co-workers, marriage and citizenship (little i_1, i_2, i_3 and i_4, in Table 1), a summated index for each informant was constructed with direction defined so that 0 equals high boundary maintenance against residents across the border and 4 equals low boundary maintenance (interpreted as high systemic linkage potential) for across-the-border residents. The product moment correlation coefficients between this cross-the-border social distance index (Big I in Table 1) and educational attainment for the United States general public, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States, and urban and rural Mexico were respectively as follows: .05, .06, .10, .30 and .14.

Total Index of Desired Linkage

By summing the index for desired linkage for the nation (Big G), desired linkage for across the border persons (Big H), and the social distance scale measuring lack of social distance (Big I), a 12-point over-all index for desire for systemic linkage was developed, with 0 equalling a low desire for linkage and 11 the highest measured desire. The contingency coefficients measuring the relationship between this index and educational attainment are all significant at the $p < .05$ level.[27] In the next chapter the relationship between desired linkage and other indexes will be discussed.

[27]The product moment coefficients for the United States general public, rural Michigan, Spanish-speaking Latinos of southwestern United States, urban Mexico and rural Mexico were: .17, .26, −.03, .31 and .20. Respectively, Chi square scores with pertinent degrees of freedom were: 123.2, 70df; 94.9, 70df; 52.5, 40df; 198.9, 80df; 46.5, 40df. Respective contingency coefficients were as follows: .27, .49, .58, .39 and .37.

CHAPTER 5. DESIRE FOR LINKAGE AND COLLABORATION: ITS PREDICTABILITY AND EXPLANATION

As indicated previously, the index measuring desire for cross-the-border linkage or collaboration (Hugh B, Table 1) is composed of three major components: (1) an attitudinal measure of desire for *nation-to-nation* collaboration, an evaluation of the across the border nation as a nation, and a statement of the informant's willingness to move to the country across the border; (2) an assessment of the informant's desire to *befriend* cross-the-border citizens as well as an appraisal of his friendliness to across-the-border citizens; and (3) a social distance measure of informant's *closeness* toward the cross-the-border citizens in terms of their willingness to accept them as neighbors, co-workers on the job, family members, and citizens. This measure of *desired* linkage (Huge B) differs from the other large composite index (Huge A), which reflects actual behavioral linkage; being composed of the following major components: (1) first-hand linkage reflected in having across-the-border friends and having visited across the border; (2) Anglo-Latino linkage among relatives in interaction arenas such as the church and other formal groups, in the neighborhood and on the job; and (3) second-hand contact with the across the border nation via relatives, close friends, and the marriage partner (Table 1).

These two indexes have been studied in relation to each other, and they and their components have been studied in relation to the following sociological variables: educational attainment, proximity of residence to the border, size of place of residence, language and/or ethnic background, social class, religion, sex, and age. Table 14 includes the means of Huge A and Huge B and standard deviations for all these sociological variables except for age. Table 15 includes measures of relationship of Huge A, Huge B, and each of their major components as listed above with these sociological variables. Table 15 also contains measures of relationship between the sociological variables and educational attainment for three samples; the United States general public, rural Michigan, and urban Mexico. Table 16 contains measures of the relation of Huge A and Huge B with the sociological variables dichotomized in each sample. In Table 17 the measurement of the relationship of Huge A and Huge B, as each are related to the sociological factors,

TABLE 14—Mean scores and standard deviations of Behavioral Linkage (HUGE A) and Desire for Linkage (HUGE B) for informants by residence, region, ethnicity, religion, sex and educational level

Residence, region, ethnicity, religion, sex and education		UNITED STATES										MEXICO									
		General public					Rural Michigan					Spanish-speaking					Urban					Rural				
		No.	Mean		Standard Deviation		No.	Mean		Standard Deviation		No.	Mean		Standard Deviation		No.	Mean		Standard Deviation		No.	Mean		Standard Deviation	
			A	B	A	B		A	B	A	B		A	B	A	B		A	B	A	B		A	B	A	B
PLACE OF RESIDENCE																										
Rural farm less than 2,500		120	1.42	5.28	1.66	2.22	63	1.32	5.65	1.71	2.33	24	7.21	8.08	2.57	1.06	--	--	--	--	--	158	1.76	5.50	2.30	2.74
Open country non-farm		327	1.27	5.42	1.84	2.11	243	1.50	5.63	1.78	2.15	28	2.07	7.89	2.79	1.10	--	--	--	--	--	119	1.36	5.84	1.71	2.66
Places 2,500 - 49,999		230	2.21	5.76	2.42	2.40	---	---	---	---	---	16	8.00	8.56	2.13	.73	503	2.01	6.26	2.44	2.66	---	---	---	---	---
Places 50,000 - 499,999		376	1.94	5.76	2.24	2.19	---	---	---	---	---	24	9.25	8.46	3.55	1.18	265	2.47	6.77	2.66	2.41	---	---	---	---	---
Places 500,000 and over		475	2.62	6.22	2.87	1.99	---	---	---	---	---	13	7.69	8.77	3.64	.83	358	2.40	7.29	2.59	2.10	---	---	---	---	---
Total sample*		1528	2.01	5.79	2.42	2.17	306	1.46	5.63	1.77	2.19	105	7.55	8.28	3.13	1.06	1126	2.24	6.71	2.55	2.47	277	1.56	5.65	2.07	2.71
REGION																										
Non-border states		1262	1.43	5.68	1.86	2.19	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	852	1.80	6.71	2.24	2.49	268	1.34	5.69	1.81	2.70
Border states		266	4.73	6.33	2.87	2.01	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	274	3.61	6.72	2.93	2.40	20	4.45	4.75	2.87	2.86
ETHNICITY																										
United States	Mexico																									
Anglo-white	Mexican only Spanish-speaking	1299	2.01	5.66	2.30	2.18	299	1.45	5.61	1.77	2.21	---	---	---	---	---	1048	2.29	6.72	2.54	2.47	246	1.69	5.57	2.72	2.70
Spanish-speaking	Bi-lingual Mexican and Indian	49	5.53	6.96	3.67	2.02	2	1.50	6.50	2.12	.71	105	7.55	8.28	3.13	1.06	47	1.51	6.87	2.07	2.09	32	.69	6.69	1.38	2.47
Negroes	Non-Spanish-speaking Indian	171	.96	6.44	1.88	1.98	5	1.80	6.40	1.92	1.14	---	---	---	---	---	10	---	3.70	---	1.83	---	---	---	---	---
Others	Negroes and others	9	1.78	5.89	1.72	1.45	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	29	2.38	6.97	3.31	2.61	10	1.29	3.80	1.69	2.90
PELIGION																										
None		42	2.81	6.45	2.57	2.00	11	1.45	5.00	1.92	2.53	1	11.00	7.00	---	---	6	1.67	5.00	2.88	3.90	4	.50	6.25	1.00	4.19
Protestant		1016	1.86	5.66	2.35	2.22	229	1.39	5.54	1.70	2.23	7	6.14	7.86	3.08	.90	37	3.14	7.78	2.51	1.72	10	2.69	7.50	2.84	2.27
Catholic		398	2.25	6.02	2.57	2.06	62	1.65	6.18	1.78	1.79	96	7.60	8.31	3.13	1.07	1063	2.18	6.68	2.52	2.47	265	1.50	5.51	2.03	2.70
Jewish		48	1.83	5.78	2.05	1.93	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	7.00	9.00	---	---	2	2.00	6.50	2.86	3.54
Agnostic/Atheist		7	4.29	7.14	3.09	1.77	2	5.00	7.00	5.66	---	1	9.00	9.00	---	---	16	3.63	6.88	3.48	2.06	7	2.71	6.71	1.75	2.43
Other		14	3.00	6.79	2.45	1.67	2	---	1.00	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	4.00	1.00	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
SEX																										
Male		734	2.15	6.02	2.47	2.17	146	1.71	5.86	2.03	2.32	52	5.28	5.56	3.22	.78	414	2.71	7.16	2.70	2.26	138	1.94	5.96	2.29	2.53
Female		794	1.87	5.59	2.37	2.16	160	1.23	5.42	1.46	2.05	53	6.89	8.00	2.91	1.22	698	1.99	6.46	2.43	2.53	142	1.20	5.37	1.76	2.87
EDUCATION																										
United States	Mexico																									
0-4 years	0-2 years	672	1.56	5.44	2.25	2.24	138	1.14	5.27	1.58	2.31	75	6.93	8.28	2.89	1.02	693	1.62	6.18	2.15	2.62	267	1.49	5.50	2.03	2.74
5-over	3-over	847	2.36	6.07	2.49	2.08	168	1.73	5.93	1.87	2.05	30	9.10	8.27	3.21	1.17	424	3.18	7.58	2.82	1.93	20	2.45	7.30	2.31	1.89

*Totals may differ slightly due to no response, don't know etc.

TABLE 15—Measures of relationship of Behavioral, Desired Linkage indexes and educational level to other sociological variables

Indexes*		Educational attainment				Regions: Non-border Border				Size of place of residence(b)				Language and/or ethnic or racial background(c)				Social class, self-determined(d)				Religion (e)				Sex				Age			
	S(a)	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r
Big A	1	.39	265.9	14	.39	.27	116.6	2	.27	.16	40.1	8	.13	.28	133.7	6	-.23	.26	107.2	10	.22	.11	19.4	10	.01	.16	38.3	2	-.16	.11	19.6	10	-.04
	2	.36	45.1	14	.33	--	--	--	--	.06	1.2	2	.06	.08	1.7	4	.02	.24	18.5	10	.19	.18	10.2	8	.04	.27	23.0	2	-.26	.22	14.8	10	-.01
	3	.47	29.4	16	.44	--	--	--	--	.51	36.0	8	.13	--	--	--	--	.28	8.7	10	.02	.20	4.5	6	--	.10	1.1	2	-.09	.31	10.7	10	-.10
	4	.47	320.9	16	.49	.20	45.6	2	.18	.21	50.1	4	.19	.14	22.0	6	-.04	.35	153.0	4	.37	.15	26.1	10	.04	.33	139.4	2	-.35	.15	25.4	10	-.08
	5	.36	41.7	8	.34	.22	15.2	2	.18	.06	.9	2	.03	.14	5.7	4	-.07	.18	10.1	4	.11	.19	10.4	8	-.02	.33	35.2	2	-.34	.16	7.7	10	.03
Big B	1	.13	25.0	7	--	.10	15.1	1	.10	.06	4.6	4	.03	.19	57.4	3	.05	.05	3.6	5	-.04	.07	7.0	5	.03	.03	1.1	1	.03	.07	8.4	5	.04
	2	.12	4.1	7	--	--	--	--	--	.03	.3	1	.03	.01	--	2	--	.08	2.0	5	-.08	.03	.3	4	-.02	.06	.9	1	.06	.13	5.4	5	.03
	3	.33	12.7	24	-.01	--	--	--	--	.29	9.8	12	.07	--	--	--	--	.31	11.1	15	-.13	.13	1.7	9	--	.13	1.9	3	.07	.28	8.4	15	-.12
	4	.52	419.9	24	.42	.12	16.5	3	.10	.12	15.5	6	.08	.13	20.6	9	-.01	.31	118.5	6	.32	.12	16.9	15	-.02	.19	43.5	3	-.19	.15	24.6	15	-.10
	5	.35	40.2	8	.32	.21	13.8	2	.19	.09	2.4	2	-.08	.09	2.5	4	.03	.13	4.7	4	.11	.29	27.2	8	.16	.19	10.5	2	-.19	.19	10.4	10	-.09
Big D	1	.24	91.6	21	.19	.45	382.5	3	.49	.19	54.5	12	.16	.23	81.3	9	-.05	.14	30.8	15	.10	.14	29.0	15	-.01	.12	21.1	3	-.11	.10	15.7	15	-.03
	2	.33	38.5	21	.20	--	--	--	--	.08	2.1	3	-.01	.10	3.0	6	.03	.21	13.6	15	.06	.39	55.5	12	.09	.13	5.6	3	-.10	.26	22.8	15	-.05
	3	.46	27.4	24	.23	--	--	--	--	.46	27.4	12	.29	--	--	--	--	.39	18.8	15	.03	.22	5.3	9	-.08	.17	3.1	3	-.10	.39	18.6	15	-.01
	4	.37	172.3	24	.31	.31	115.8	3	.30	.14	23.8	6	.07	.10	11.2	9	-.04	.31	117.5	6	.28	.17	31.6	15	.02	.21	53.2	3	-.21	.17	32.0	15	.02
	5	.17	9.0	12	.09	.43	64.3	3	.36	.16	7.5	3	-.15	.11	3.6	6	-.05	.06	.9	6	.01	.19	10.7	12	-.03	.27	22.8	3	-.27	.23	16.3	15	.14
Big E	1	.21	66.7	35	.06	.36	221.9	5	.35	.22	76.8	20	.19	.49	484.4	15	.08	.14	32.1	25	-.05	.24	92	25	.10	.13	25.8	5	-.09	.14	28.2	25	-.08
	2	.25	20.6	21	.02	--	--	--	--	.09	2.5	3	-.04	.05	.8	6	-.01	.25	20.5	15	-.01	.26	[illegible]	12	-.01	.22	15.2	3	-.22	.21	14.6	15	-.12
	3	.59	56.2	40	.27	--	--	--	--	.47	30.0	20	.03	--	--	--	--	.48	31.2	25	-.22	.32	11.6	15	.08	.36	15.5	5	-.33	.40	19.0	25	-.12
	4	.31	115.2	32	.22	.20	47.3	4	.20	.09	8.8	8	.01	.17	31.7	12	.07	.27	89.3	8	.23	.21	49.9	20	-.03	.06	3.6	4	-.05	.12	16.4	20	-.10
	5	.20	12.0	8	.13	.36	42.8	2	.36	.12	3.8	2	-.10	.06	.9	4	-.04	.14	6.0	4	.08	.14	5.8	8	-.04	.09	2.1	2	.09	.14	5.3	10	.01
Big F	1	.35	218.3	42	.28	.38	263.5	6	.40	.21	68.4	24	.12	.26	107.0	18	-.15	.23	82.7	30	.17	.17	45.0	30	.04	.06	4.6	6	.01	.17	46.0	30	-.04
	2	.41	62.4	42	.29	--	--	--	--	.17	8.7	6	.08	.17	9.2	12	.03	.26	22.2	30	.12	.48	89.9	24	.05	.10	2.8	6	-.06	.30	29.3	30	-.04
	3	.51	36.9	48	.21	--	--	--	--	.46	28.9	24	.20	--	--	--	--	.47	29.5	30	.03	.41	21.3	18	.08	.12	1.5	6	-.09	.50	34.2	30	-.06
	4	.37	179.0	48	.32	.28	94.3	6	.24	.11	13.8	12	.06	.14	21.1	18	-.06	.33	134.5	12	.32	.14	21.6	30	.04	.11	13.2	6	-.08	.17	31.2	30	-.06
	5	.35	40.2	20	.21	.30	27.9	5	.29	.12	3.8	5	-.06	.19	11.2	10	-.11	.23	16.0	10	.12	.23	16.5	20	.09	.13	4.8	5	-.10	.26	20.0	25	--
Big G	1	.23	87.0	28	.17	.12	23.3	4	.12	.13	26.8	16	.04	.12	23.7	12	-.03	.13	25.5	20	.09	.12	22.2	20	-.01	.13	25.4	4	-.13	.14	31.1	20	-.10
	2	.33	38.3	28	.19	--	--	--	--	.14	6.2	4	.01	.11	3.4	8	--	.35	42.0	20	.08	.36	38.8	16	.01	.16	8.3	4	-.15	.27	24.5	20	-.14
	3	.50	34.5	32	-.03	--	--	--	--	.42	21.8	16	.24	--	--	--	--	.33	12.5	20	-.11	.30	10.2	12	.17	.32	11.8	4	-.31	.43	23.5	20	--
	4	.27	84.5	32	.13	.09	8.2	4	--	.13	20.4	8	.06	.17	34.2	12	-.02	.12	16.8	8	.08	.19	43.4	20	-.03	.13	19.8	4	-.12	.16	30.1	20	-.06
	5	.29	26.0	16	.18	.13	5.0	4	--	.11	3.3	4	.09	.24	18.2	8	-.13	.21	13.7	8	.13	.32	33.8	16	.06	.20	12.1	4	-.18	.16	7.7	20	-.02

TABLE 15—Continued

Big H	1	.19	58.3	14	.16	.11	18.8	2	.11	.14	31.4	8	.12	.13	26.0	6	.08	.08	10.9	10	.04	.09	11.6	10	.04	.07	7.1	2	-.06	.20	62.3	10	-.17
	2	.27	23.5	14	.24	--	--	--	--	.02	.1	2	-.01	.12	4.3	4	.01	.17	8.6	10	.07	.18	10.6	8	.08	.08	2.1	2	-.06	.17	8.9	10	-.11
	3	.23	18.5	16	-.04	--	--	--	--	.22	5.4	8	.10	--	--	--	--	.24	6.5	10	--	.17	3.0	6	.07	.07	.5	2	.06	.25	6.6	10	.08
	4	.28	95.9	16	.25	.05	2.9	2	.05	.08	7.4	4	.07	.22	59.6	6	-.06	.19	40.0	4	.18	.12	17.6	10	-.03	.15	24.9	2	-.13	.17	33.0	10	-.12
	5	.20	12.2	8	.15	.10	2.9	2	-.10	.07	1.5	2	.07	.15	6.2	4	-.04	.16	7.4	4	.13	.17	8.7	8	.02	.10	2.8	2	-.09	.14	5.8	10	-.07
Big I	1	.19	58.9	28	.05	.06	5.3	4	.02	.23	82.0	16	.16	.29	139.9	12	.23	.19	54.5	20	-.12	.20	60.1	20	.10	.07	7.8	4	-.02	.19	58.7	20	-.13
	2	.30	30.2	28	.16	--	--	--	--	.10	2.8	4	-.02	.18	10.5	8	.11	.33	37.2	20	-.01	.32	35.7	16	-.01	.11	3.6	4	--	.22	15.2	20	-.04
	3	.15	2.3	8	.10	--	--	--	--	.18	3.4	4	.13	--	--	--	--	.24	6.5	5	.04	.03	.1	3	-.02	.10	1.0	1	.10	.32	12.0	5	-.16
	4	.34	141.4	32	.30	.07	5.6	4	-.02	.23	63.3	8	.21	.09	10.1	12	.01	.21	50.0	8	.20	.18	36.8	20	-.01	.09	9.7	4	-.08	.13	17.6	20	-.10
	5	.30	27.7	16	.14	.11	3.8	4	-.10	.12	3.9	4	.02	.17	8.3	8	.03	.16	7.8	8	.09	.23	15.8	16	-.07	.18	9.4	4	-.03	.24	17.3	20	.06
HUGE A	1	.36	230.1	91	.25	.47	438.3	13	.52	.28	127.0	52	.19	.43	337.1	39	-.08	.27	115.0	65	.12	.26	107.5	65	.06	.11	18.7	13	-.06	.21	69.2	65	-.06
	2	.54	122.8	70	.28	--	--	--	--	.26	21.8	10	.04	.20	12.4	20	.02	.38	50.6	50	.10	.59	167.1	40	.07	.21	14.2	10	-.14	.38	51.5	50	-.08
	3	.71	106.9	104	.31	--	--	--	--	.61	62.3	52	.23	--	--	--	--	.55	45.9	60	-.05	.47	29.9	39	.05	.37	16.1	13	-.22	.64	72.6	65	.08
	4	.45	289.2	96	.37	.30	113.1	12	.31	.16	29.0	24	.07	.21	51.8	36	-.04	.38	185.9	24	.36	.30	111.0	60	.03	.17	34.5	12	-.14	.21	50.6	60	-.05
	5	.36	41.6	36	.20	.45	72.2	9	.39	.21	13.0	9	-.11	.26	20.4	18	-.11	.22	14.8	18	.10	.37	44.7	36	.06	.23	15.1	9	-.18	.36	41.8	45	.05
HUGE B	1	.27	123.2	70	.17	.15	33.2	10	.11	.20	63.7	40	.14	.20	62.8	30	.13	.18	51.9	50	--	.20	61.8	50	.06	.12	23.6	10	-.10	.25	98.2	50	-.18
	2	.49	94.9	70	.26	--	--	--	--	.17	8.7	10	-.01	.15	7.3	20	.05	.48	90.5	50	.07	.54	124.3	40	.03	.22	16.1	10	-.10	.39	54.9	50	-.13
	3	.58	52.5	40	-.03	--	--	--	--	.47	29.3	20	.25	--	--	--	--	.33	12.8	25	-.08	.29	9.4	15	.17	.29	9.5	5	-.26	.42	21.9	25	.03
	4	.39	198.9	80	.31	.07	5.4	10	--	.21	51.7	20	.18	.20	45.5	30	-.02	.23	60.5	20	.21	.28	93.0	50	-.03	.14	22.9	10	-.14	.25	70.9	50	-.12
	5	.37	46.5	40	.20	.19	10.4	10	-.08	.20	11.5	10	.06	.28	25.0	20	-.04	.28	24.6	20	.14	.31	31.3	40	-.02	.19	10.7	10	-.11	.34	36.6	50	.01
EDUCATION	1	--	--	--	--	--	17.9	3	.08	--	55.2	12	.15	--	18.9	15	.10	--	219.9	15	.33	--	22.3	15	.03	--	27.8	3	.05	--	400.1	177	-.30
	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	3	.04	--	15.9	9	.06	--	47.1	15	.33	--	12.5	12	.06	--	13.3	3	.04	--	206.0	171	-.26
	4	--	--	--	--	--	2.5	4	.03	--	81.3	8	.25	--	62.8	20	-.18	--	292.0	8	.49	--	103.5	20	.05	--	36.5	4	-.17	--	304.3	228	-.27

*Big A-Knowledge about Mexico/United States; Big B-Mass media communication; Big D-First-hand contact with Mexico-Mexicans with United States-Americans; Big E-Contact with Spanish Americans in interaction arenas; Big F-Second-hand contact with Mexico-United States; Big G-Attitudes toward Mexico/United States and linkage with, as a nation; Big H-Attitude toward and linkage with Mexicans/North Americans as people; Big I-Social distance from Mexico/United States; HUGE A-Actual contacts with Mexico/United States Behavioral Linkage; HUGE B-Attitudes toward Mexico/United States Desired Linkage.

(a) Sample numbers throughout refer to the following populations: 1=United States general public; 2=rural Michigan; 3=Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States; 4=urban Mexico; 5=rural Mexico.

(b) Rural farm; open country non-farm; 2,500-49,999; 50,000-499,999; over 500,000

(c) United States: Anglo; Spanish-speaking; Negro; Other. Mexico: Mexican only Spanish-speaking; Bi-lingual Mexican and Indian; Non-Spanish-speaking Indians; Negroes and Others.

(d) Codes used in statistical analysis for social class were the following: United States: working; lower; lower-middle; middle; upper-middle, and upper. Mexico: pobre(poor); media (middle); and alta (high).

(e) Religion: None; Protestant; Catholic; Jewish; Agnostic/Atheist; Other.

TABLE 16—Relation of Behavioral Linkage (Huge A) to Desired Linkage (Huge B) by sociological factors controlled by dichotomization

Control variables	Sample(a)	C	X^2	df	r
	1	.40	300.4	130	.27
	2	.53	121.5	100	.33
Whole Sample	3	.68	90.9	65	.29
	4	.37	177.1	120	.22
	5	.53	113.5	90	.08
REGION:					
Border	1	.63	173.0	117	.28
	4	.55	117.2	120	.28
	5	.88	67.1	63	.49
Non-border	1	.42	274.9	120	.24
	4	.39	152.7	100	.22
	5	.43	61.0	60	.08
SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE					
Rural	1	.36	66.8	100	.15
	3	.68	45.5	48	.41
Urban	1	.45	266.6	130	.28
	3	.72	56.6	44	.06
ETHNICITY					
United States Spanish-speaking	1	.81	91.0	84	.51
	3	.68	91.0	65	.29
Mexico bi-lingual	4	.78	75.1	56	.12
	5	.60	18.0	21	.36
United States non-Spanish	1	.39	265.4	110	.24
	2	.53	120.4	100	.33
Mexico non- bi-lingual	4	.37	172.7	120	.22
	5	.53	102.0	90	.08
SOCIAL CLASS					
Bottom	1	.54	247.1	130	.30
	2	.70	134.3	70	.30
	4	.47	136.7	120	.19
Top	1	.42	197.6	120	.25
	2	.58	81.7	100	.35
	4	.38	106.5	90	.15
RELIGION					
Catholic	1	.54	166.1	120	.41
	2	.67	51.2	49	.32
	3	.70	90.0	65	.33
	4	.37	169.5	120	.21
	5	.50	88.0	80	.07
Non-Catholic	1	.42	234.6	120	.21
	2	.55	107.0	100	.33
	3	.74	10.8	10	-.30
	4	.74	74.9	100	.30
	5	.80	40.7	40	.07
SEX(b)					
Male	1	.47	202.3	130	.24
	2	.63	95.3	90	.36
	3	.61	30.7	36	.25
	4	.47	115.9	110	.17
	5	.56	67.2	70	.02
Female	1	.43	179.1	120	.29
	2	.56	74.7	70	.26
	3	.78	79.9	60	.26
	4	.41	140.4	110	.23
	5	.62	90.7	70	.09
AGE					
Young 21-30	1	.44	156.1	130	.25
	2	.64	88.9	72	.36
	4	.43	141.8	110	.25
Old	1	.47	253.2	130	.28
	2	.57	83.8	80	.30
	4	.45	126.9	110	.20
EDUCATION					
Low Grades United States 0-4 Mexico 0-2	1	.42	146.5	120	.23
	2	.63	92.3	70	.34
	3	.69	67.8	60	.41
	4	.45	172.3	120	.16
	5	.55	115.5	90	.06
High United States 5 and over Mexico 3 and over	1	.45	211.2	130	.27
	2	.58	82.8	90	.29
	3	.78	46.0	44	.10
	4	.43	95.8	120	.14
	5	.71	19.9	24	--

(a) Sample numbers throughout refer to the following populations: 1=United States general public; 2= Rural Michigan; 3= Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States; 4= urban Mexico; 5= rural Mexico.

(b) See Table 17, footnote f

TABLE 17—Behavioral Linkage (Huge A) and Desired Linkage (Huge B) by Sociological Variables with Huge A and Huge B used alternatively dichotomized for control purposes

Behavioral and Desired Linkage		Educational attainment				Regions: Non-border Border				Size of place of residence(b)				Language and/or ethnic or racial background(c)				Social class, self-determined(d)				Religion (e)				Sex (f)				Age			
	S(a)	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r	C	X^2	df	r
Huge A	1	.32	95.6	70	.10	.11	9.5	10	-.01	.22	42.0	40	.09	.24	50.4	30	.18	.23	43.9	50	--	.26	57.0	50	-.02	.13	13.9	10	-.10	.29	74.1	50	-.17
Low	2	.53	72.1	70	.21	--	--	--	--	.29	17.0	10	-.05	.23	11.0	20	.09	.74	226.8	50	--	.57	88.2	40	.03	.22	9.8	10	--	.52	67.3	50	-.11
scores	3*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	4	.44	118.5	80	.27	.10	5.5	10	-.03	.24	30.0	20	.18	.30	48.1	30	-.01	.24	31.6	20	.18	.24	31.3	30	.04	.19	18.8	10	-.12	.34	66.2	50	-.07
	5	.42	33.5	36	.17	.29	13.9	9	-.20	.23	8.6	9	--	.34	20.8	18	-.08	--	--	--	--	.42	34.0	36	-.17	.29	13.8	9	-.16	--	--	--	--
High	1	.36	104.2	70	.15	.15	16.1	10	.07	.27	55.9	40	.17	.22	44.7	30	.13	.28	59.0	50	-.06	.28	58.6	50	.13	.16	17.7	10	-.08	.31	74.8	50	-.15
scores	2	.63	80.7	63	.22	--	--	--	--	.23	6.7	9	-.02	.28	10.2	18	--	.45	29.9	30	.14	.42	26.5	27	.03	.25	8.0	9	-.20	.49	37.2	45	-.14
	3	.57	51.2	40	-.06	--	--	--	--	.45	26.6	20	.24	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.29	9.3	15	.18	.27	8.5	5	-.25	--	--	--	--
	4	.39	107.5	70	.30	.12	8.3	9	-.04	.20	26.4	18	.17	.18	20.4	18	--	.20	27.0	18	.17	.36	92.6	45	-.09	.15	13.2	9	-.12	.27	48.7	45	-.15
	5	.46	35.3	40	.23	.25	9.1	10	-.08	.32	14.3	10	.12	.35	17.8	20	.01	--	--	--	--	.54	53.2	40	.09	.23	7.5	10	-.05	--	--	--	--
Huge B	1	.41	83.0	63	.22	.50	136.6	9	.51	.31	43.8	36	.13	.22	21.6	27	-.13	.35	56.4	45	.16	.34	51.9	45	-.12	.15	9.1	9	.06	.29	[illegible]	45	-.02
Low	2	.50	30.3	24	.19	--	--	--	--	.22	4.6	4	--	--	--	--	--	.38	15.4	16	-.04	.26	6.9	12	-.12	.09	.8	4	-.03	.48	[illegible]	20	-.01
scores	3*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	4	.47	64.2	56	.20	.37	36.7	8	.33	.27	18.1	16	.09	.21	10.5	24	-.15	.36	34.5	8	.31	.42	50.1	32	.14	.20	8.9	8	-.10		[illegible]	40	.09
	5	.45	27.0	15	.31	.46	28.2	5	.38	.28	8.8	5	-.22	.22	5.8	10	-.10	--	--	--	--	.40	20.1	20	.08	.26	7.2	5	-.22	--	--	-	--
High	1	.38	190.4	91	.24	.47	308.0	13	.51	.28	94.7	52	.19	.46	294.0	39	-.09	.29	99.0	65	.12	.29	105.4	65	.08	.12	14.9	13	-.04	.24	66.6	65	-.04
scores	2	.55	94.0	70	.26	--	--	--	--	.30	20.4	10	.05	.22	10.4	20	--	.39	39.2	50	.13	.60	117.5	30	.13	.24	13.0	10	-.16	.43	48.2	50	-.08
	3	.71	106.9	104	.31	--	--	--	--	.61	62.3	52	.23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.47	29.9	39	.05	.37	16.1	13	-.22	--	--	--	--
	4	.45	224.8	96	.35	.31	92.6	12	.31	.15	21.1	24	.03	.21	40.9	36	-.02	.36	130.9	24	.34	.32	100.6	48	.01	.18	29.0	12	-.12	.24	54.9	60	-.05
	5	.38	30.0	32	.15	.52	65.9	8	.43	.21	8.0	8	-.07	.27	14.7	16	-.11	--	--	--	--	.41	36.2	32	.06	.21	8.3	8	-.15	--	--	--	--

*Less than one percent

(a) Sample numbers throughout refer to the following populations: 1=United States general public; 2=Rural Michigan; 3=Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States; 4=urban Mexico; 5=rural Mexico.

(b) Rural farm; Open country non-farm; 2,500 - 49,999; 50,000 - 499,999; over 500,000.

(c) United States: Anglo; Spanish-speaking; Negro; Other. Mexico: Mexican only Spanish-speaking; Bi-lingual Mexican and Indian; Non-Spanish-speaking Indians; Negroes and Others.

(d) Codes used in statistical analysis for social class were the following: United States: working; lower; lower-middle; middle; upper-middle, and upper. Mexico: pobre(poor); media (middle); and alta (high). See Section 6.

(e) Religion: None; Protestant; Catholic; Jewish; Agnostic/Atheist; Other.

(f) Sex: 1=male; 2=female

is carried a step further by controlling for Huge A's influence on Huge B's relation to these sociological variables, and again controlling for Huge B's influence on Huge A's relation to them. The data in these tables will be considered in the following discussion.

THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT ON LINKAGE AND OTHER SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

As indicated in Table 14, in all samples informants with more formal education had higher mean scores measuring their contacts in across the border and Anglo-Latino relations (Huge A) than did those with low educational attainment. This same pattern appeared with reference to desire for linkage, as measured by Huge B, except among Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States, where differences in education were not reflected in differences in measures of desired linkage.

In support of hypothesis 3, Chapter 1, the data in Table 15 demonstrate that educational attainment is positively correlated with indexes and sub-indexes measuring the amount of interaction between citizens of Mexico and the United States and between Latinos and Anglos in the two countries as well as the desire for such linkage. As indicated in Table 15, however, higher educational attainment is less frequently concomitant of high interaction of Anglos and Latinos in interaction arenas such as church, formal groups, neighborhoods, work places, etc. than it is for other forms of interaction such as visiting the across-the-border nation or having friends there.

Without resort to multivariate analysis including multiple, partial and part correlation for various reasons not possible in the present study, it is difficult to specify to what extent the many relationships manifest between the sociological variables and the behavioral and desired linkage indexes and their components as stated in Table 15 are due to the pervasive influence of intervening variables such as educational attainment. In fact, in many ways education as a process of socialization, especially in countries such as Mexico and the United States, is viewed as a process of systemic linkage. Thus, for many years educators have maintained that an important function of education in the United States is that of providing an arena in which the streams of immigrants from many lands become Americans. Many tourists returning from either across-the-border country claim the trip was "educational." When the well-known Mexican anthropologist, Manuel Gamio,

observed that it was not an accident that most of Mexico's revolutions had started in areas where returning laborers and others were familiar with higher levels of living in the United States, he expressed the idea here emphasized—that the various forms of linkage discussed in the present study may be viewed as forms of education. In the future it would be worthwhile to study more specifically and fundamentally than possible in the present study, the contribution of tourist travel and wage labor to linkage and cooperation on the one hand and to boundary maintenance and conflict on the other.

The relationships of educational attainment to the measures of behavioral linkage (Huge A) and desired or attitudinal linkage (Huge B) follow the same general pattern as that relation of these two latter variables to each other as well as their relation to annual income.[28] It is interesting to note that for the rural Michigan sample educational attainment appears from the measures available to be more closely related to both behavioral linkage and desired or attitudinal linkage than annual income. This relationship holds in general for the other samples also, and suggests that those who desire international collaboration should argue for increased support for education.

As indicated by Table 15, self-determined social rank generally follows the same pattern as educational attainment and annual income, showing positive correlations with the indexes of behavioral and desired linkage. However, as in the case of educational attainment with which it is positively correlated, when the samples are dichotomized to control the influence of the variable as in Table 16, indexes Huge A and Huge B continue to manifest positive relationships. The correlation of these large indexes is thus relatively independent of social stratification as determined in the present study. Nevertheless, as indicated by Table 16, Hypothesis 11 in Chapter 1, which states that, "the higher the rank or social status, other things equal, the higher the behavioral and desired linkage," does seem to be borne out. This is especially true of the urban Mexican sample. For rural Michigan, that part dealing with desire for linkage holds true. For the general public and the United States, that part dealing with behavioral linkage is born out. As indicated by Table 17, in which amount of interaction is controlled for by dichotomization, these relationships hold more definitely for

[28]For the five samples the relationship of annual income to Huge A is expressed by the product moment correlation coefficients respectively as follows: .17, .12, .41, .35, and .08. Chi Square measures for the cross-tabulations in the 5 samples with the degree of freedom are as follows: 191.5, 130df; 146.9, 100df; 147.1, 130df; 316.3, 120df; and 74.4, 70df. The respective coefficients indicating the relation of desired or attitudinal linkage and annual income are as follows: .12, .09, .07, .21 and −.09. Chi Square measures for the cross tabulations in the 5 samples with pertinent degrees of freedom are as follows: 134.1, 100df; 108.6, 100df; 63.6, 50df; 153.9, 100df; and 88.8, 100df.

informants who are not in extensive interaction with across-the-border residents than for informants engaged in heavy interaction.

BEHAVIORAL LINKAGE AS A PREDICTOR OF DESIRE FOR LINKAGE

As indicated by Table 16, the behavioral linkage index (Huge A) is positively correlated with the desire for linkage index (Huge B). Only in the case of the rural Mexican sample where the interaction was less than in any of the others are the correlation coefficients and Chi Square measures not significant at the .05 level. The relationships of Huge A to Huge B are basic for the present study and in what follows the five samples will be referred to by arabic numbers as follows: (1) United States general public, (2) rural Michigan, (3) Spanish-speaking Latinos of Southwestern United States, (4) urban Mexico, and (5) rural Mexico. As noted in Table 16, the product moment correlation coefficients between behavioral linkage (Huge A) and desire for linkage (Huge B) are respectively as follows: (1) .27, (2) .33, (3) .29, (4) .22, and (5) .08. In general, Hypothesis 1, as stated in Chapter 1, seems to be borne out for those samples with a significant amount of behavioral linkage. The relationship between Huge A and Huge B are variously influenced by the sociological variables as the following paragraphs indicate.

Educational Attainment

No factor other than actual interaction or linkage is as persistently related as education to both behavioral linkage and desired linkage of respondents in Mexico and the United States. This fact is shown by the means of Huge A and Huge B in Table 14, in which each sample is dichotomized into the highly educated and the lesser educated. It is also shown in Tables 15 and 16. In Table 16 education is controlled, dividing the sample into approximate halves with informants of high and low educational attainment and studying the relation of Huge A and Huge B in each half. This process demonstrates that behavioral linkage or interaction would be positively correlated with desired linkage even if the influence of educational attainment were partialled out. That both educational attainment and behavioral linkage (Huge A) are useful predictors of desire for linkage is indicated by Tables 16 and 17. When the index, Huge B, is controlled through dichotomization of the samples and Huge A correlated with educational attainment in each half, approximately the same number of the coefficients measur-

ing the relationship remain significant as when the process is reversed and Huge A "controlled" by dichotomization. This is particularly true for the general public of the United States. From Tables 16 and 17 it is difficult to ascertain which is more effective in predicting Huge B, educational attainment or Huge A.

Influence of Proximity to the Border

Of course, both opportunities for and participation in cross-the-border linkage is greater in border states than in non-border states. This holds for both Mexico and the United States. Following the United States Bureau of the Census practice for publications on "Spanish-Name Persons," Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, are border states. Baja California, T.N., Sonora, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon and Tamulipas were designated as the border states of Mexico.

As indicated in Table 14, the means of index Huge A, measuring behavioral linkage, are higher for all border states than for non-border states. This holds also for Huge B, measuring desired linkage for all the samples except rural Mexico in which only 20 informants fell in the border segment. For urban Mexico the difference in the means of Huge B for border and non-border states was very small. Tables 15 and 16 throw further light upon the influence of the border on behavioral linkage and desire for linkage and the relationships between the indexes measuring these two variables. In general, behavioral linkage is positively correlated with desired linkage in both non-border and border states except that the few informants in the border sample for rural Mexico ($N = 20$) do not strongly follow this pattern. Although the relationships between Huge A and Huge B stated in Table 16 for border and non-border states are approximately equal for comparable samples, there is support for Hypothesis 6 in Chapter 1.

That the border may be more important in providing an arena for interaction than for promoting desired linkage as reflected in Huge B is indicated in Table 17. Here the samples are dichotomized first on index, Huge A (with one-half of the informants registering low and one-half high scores) and in each half Huge B is cross-tabulated against the factor, border vs. non-border residence. Following this operation Huge B was similarly dichotomized and the factor Huge A cross-tabulated on the factor, border vs. non-border residence. For the first dichotomization none of the measures of Chi Square is significant at the .05 level, indicating that when behavioral linkage (Huge A) is con-

trolled in this way neither those very much desiring linkage nor those not desiring it seem more frequently to fall either in or out of the border vs. non-border categories. When the samples are dichotomized on the Huge B index, and Huge A is cross-tabulated against the factor, border vs. non-border residence, the influence of Huge B is not significant. This holds true for most of the samples, whether in the dichotomy representing those who desire linkage or those who do not manifest a "border influenced" pattern of behavioral linkage. From these data it seems logical to conclude that those in the border states are more linked behaviorally than those not in the border states, irrespective of "desire for linkage."

Religion

As may be noted from Table 14, when the two major categories designating religious affiliation are compared for all the samples, Catholics in the United States and Protestants in Mexico have the greatest cross-the-border behavioral linkage (Huge A) and desired linkage (Huge B). For the general public of the United States this may be related to the fact that 398 Catholics in the sample includes most of the 40 Spanish-speaking Latinos who, as indicated in Table 14, have high mean scores on the behavioral and desired cross-the-border linkage. Also it would be logical to assume that the predominant across-the-border church would manifest its impact upon interaction and desired interaction. When the samples were dichotomized into Catholic and non-Catholic segments to control for the religious factor as reported in Table 16, behavioral linkage (Huge A) is seen to be positively correlated with desired linkage (Huge B) except for rural Mexico, where the lack of interaction has been assumed to depress the coefficient, and the non-Catholic segment of the Spanish-speaking Latinos. (There are only 23 non-Catholics in the rural Mexican sample and only 9 non-Catholics among the 105 Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States). It may thus be assumed that although religious affiliation influences the relation of desired to behavioral linkage, it does not determine it. From these data it is assumed that, except for the rural Mexican sample and the Spanish-speaking Latinos, the index measuring actual linkage is an effective predictor of desired linkage (Huge B) irrespective of whether the informants are Catholic or non-Catholic. Nevertheless, as indicated in Table 25, Hypothesis 10, as stated at the beginning of the study, seems confirmed: "The larger the proportion of Catholics in the three United States samples, other things equal, the greater the behavioral linkage and the desired linkage."

Language Background and Ethnicity

As may be noted from Table 14, when the Spanish-speaking Latinos in the general public of the United States and those in the sample of the Southwestern United States are compared with other ethnic and racial groups, the Spanish-speaking Latinos manifest greater cross-the-border behavioral and desired linkage. (Rural Michigan is omitted from this comparison, there being only 2 Spanish-speaking Latinos in the sample.) Part of Hypothesis 9 in Chapter 1 is thus validated. Also, since Negroes manifest lower behavioral linkage scores than Anglo whites, the hypothesis is further validated for this type of linkage. However, and this seems important, the Negroes manifested greater desire for linkage with Mexico and Mexicans than the Anglo whites in the general public of the United States, despite their relatively low behavioral linkage. This suggests an important area for future research: Is the desired linkage with Mexico manifest by Negro citizens of the United States an indication of their alienation?

Size of Place of Residence

As indicated in Table 14, farmers in the United States generally manifest less behavioral and desired linkage than do non-farmers. For the general public of the United States the product moment correlation between size of place of residence and the index measuring the desire for linkage (Huge B) is positive ($r = .14$, Table 15). Relationships between size of place and the two linkage indexes are not so close in Mexico as in the United States. Therefore, for the general public of the United States Hypothesis 8, Chapter 1, is validated—that is, the more rural (the smaller) the place of residence, the lower the behavioral linkage and the desire for linkage. The hypothesis is also supported in the cross-tabulations of size of place of residence with behavioral linkage (Huge A) for the rural Michigan sample, and in the relationship with desired linkage (Huge B) in the case of urban Mexico. It is interesting to note that both level of education and size of place of residence are related to linkage in the same manner as these two variables are related to tolerance for nonconformists in the Stouffer study (18). Apparently the more knowledgeable and accessible actors are, the more they are linked to others, the more they desire to be linked, and the more tolerant they are to views divergent from those of the majority. As indicated in Table 17, urban arenas apparently provide the more propitious atmosphere for behavioral linkage, which in turn tends to stimulate a greater desire for linkage.

Sex

As indicated by Table 14, males in all the samples manifest more behavioral as well as desired linkage than females. However, as indicated in Table 16, when the measure for behavioral linkage (Huge A) is correlated with the measure for desired linkage (Huge B) with the factor of sex controlled by dichotomization, there is little difference in the coefficients for males vs. females. Obviously the power of the index designed to measure behavioral linkage to predict desire for linkage (Huge A) remains constant whether the sexes are considered separately or together.

Age

As indicated by Table 15, desire for cross-the-border linkage in the rural Michigan sample and the samples of the general public of the United States and urban Mexico is negatively related to age—older respondents are less prone to manifest desire for personal and national collaboration with Mexico than are younger. These data thus provide support for Hypothesis 7, Chapter 1. For the other samples in the case of desire for linkage and for all samples in the case of behavioral linkage there is little or no correlation with age. As Table 16 indicates, the correlation coefficients measuring the relationship between the index for desired linkage (Huge B) and that for behavioral linkage (Huge A), when age is controlled through dichotomization, were approximately the same for both segments. Thus, the power of behavioral linkage to predict desired linkage appears relatively independent of age.

CHAPTER 6.
THE MEANING OF THE LINKAGE— CONTRASTS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

The present chapter will stress comparisons between Mexico and the United States, whose linkage has been demonstrated in the previous chapters. It will be useful in drawing the comparisons to bear in mind the distinction between the traditional type of society that has been characterized as providing its actors with ". . . a complete plan that specifies action . . . for every possible situation" (20) and the modern type society in which actors are expected to exhibit rational behavior appropriate to a wide range of differentiated status-roles, organizations, and entities. Without further defining "traditional" and "modern," suffice it to say here that in this presentation the term "Gemeinschaft-like" will be equated with traditional, the term "Gesellschaft-like" with modern (10) and that it is assumed that most interaction in Mexico is closer to the Gemeinschaft type than that in the United States, which may be termed Gesellschaft-like.

It would be a gross over-simplification, however, to thus label the two societies without modification. Indeed, one of the themes of the present chapter is that despite the traditional-modern comparisons, Mexico is moving toward the Gesellschaft type of society, and that strains accompany this process of change. Numerous examples of desire for linkage with the United States were presented in the preceding chapters. As indicated by Table 18, Mexicans in general are much more willing to have their country linked by business firms from outside than are the North Americans. The plethora of Coca Cola signs, Singer Sewing Machine shops, American automobile ads, etc. which adorn Mexican cities in neon splendor represents what Tannenhaus has called "the consumer's revolution," a potent force toward change despite the protests of the country's intellectuals against "cultural imperialism."

TRADITION-BINDING CONDITIONS

Hypothesis I: Differentiation Non-differentiation

Mexicans are less frequently linked to systems that are different from those in which they traditionally interact. This hypothesis is

TABLE 18—Willingness of citizens of Mexico/United States to link their country to business firms from foreign countries

Response	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes, strongly agree	27.4	20.4	35.0	40.1	34.7
Yes, slightly agree	28.8	35.3	14.6	28.0	33.7
Don't know	12.0	8.9	10.1	3.5	7.6
No, slightly disagree	14.1	14.9	12.7	14.5	10.8
No, strongly disagree	16.8	20.5	24.2	13.9	13.2
Refusal, other	.9	--	3.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

supported by the data on interaction on the job, in church, and in other formal organizations along with relatives (Table 8). Table 19 shows the occupational and professional organizations to which the citizens of the two countries belong. As predicted, Mexicans are less frequently linked to these organizations; however, this form of linkage in Mexico is not insignificant and it is increasing.

Hypothesis II: Evaluation of Religious Activity

Mexicans engage in more religious activity and evaluate religious organizations to which they belong more highly than do citizens of the United States. All the data available and related to this hypothesis as gathered in the study support it. Table 20 indicates that Mexicans report attending church more frequently than do Americans.

TABLE 19—Affiliation in occupational and professional organizations: Citizens of Mexico and the United States giving negative and positive answers to the question: "Do you belong to a labor union, farm organization, or business or professional organization?" If "yes," which? Are you an officer?"

Response	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes	27.4	32.7	15.7	15.5	11.1
No	72.4	67.3	84.3	84.5	88.9
Don't know, refused, etc.	.2	--	--	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of membership					
Labor union member	14.0	18.9	3.8	8.6	1.7
Labor union officer	1.3	.3	--	3.0	--
Farm organization member	3.3	6.6	3.2	1.5	4.2
Farm organization officer	.5	2.6	1.0	.3	.8
Business or professional organization member	7.0	5.5	7.0	1.5	.3
Business or professional organization officer	1.5	--	1.4	.5	--

TABLE 20—Church attendance of citizens of Mexico United States: Proportions attending at varying frequencies as reported in answer to the question: "How often do you attend religious services?"

Frequency of attendance	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
At least once a week	43.3	40.4	66.1	66.8	48.5
A few times a month	15.2	13.8	14.0	11.2	18.8
About once a month	9.2	5.9	3.4	9.0	14.2
A few times a year	16.7	17.1	7.4	7.7	8.0
Once a year	2.7	3.9	5.7	2.0	5.2
Less than once a year	3.1	2.2	.8	.4	.4
Never	9.3	15.7	1.0	1.1	2.8
Don't know, refuse, etc.	.5	1.0	1.6	1.8	2.1
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Another form of support for Hypothesis II comes from the evaluation of the organizations in which the informant interacts. After respondents had been interviewed about all of their social participation, they were asked: "Taking all of these groups into consideration, which ONE is the most important to you?" Almost 9 out of 10 Mexicans gave a religious group as an answer; whereas only about one-third of the Anglo citizens claimed such a group as the most important.

When Mexicans and the citizens of the United States place themselves on steps of a ladder with reference to "how religious" they perceive themselves to be, Mexicans place themselves higher than do citizens of the United States. The responses are summarizd in Table 21.

TABLE 21—Perceived religiousity in Mexico and the United States: Percent placing themselves on various ladder steps

Ladder step	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
TOP					
10	23.0	19.2	35.3	25.9	25.0
9	8.7	9.4	16.8	12.0	17.8
8	16.4	15.9	11.3	19.2	15.6
7	10.6	11.3	10.5	9.6	9.4
6	8.1	11.4	5.9	7.1	6.2
5	16.4	18.2	9.6	13.5	7.6
4	3.5	1.6	1.0	3.0	3.8
3	4.2	3.2	2.3	3.7	3.1
2	2.5	2.8	1.5	1.5	2.8
1	3.2	4.2	2.4	1.1	--
0	3.0	2.8	2.4	2.0	2.1
Don't know, refusals, etc.	.4	--	1.0	1.4	6.6
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These data with the other items above support Hypothesis II. Interestingly, of the three samples in which the relations of this item to education was assessed, only the United States general sample showed a significant association—the higher the educational degree, the lower the placement on the ladder.

Another question included in the study that produced answers in support of Hypothesis II was used also by Lenski (7) as one of his measures of *devotionalism* in his study, *The Religious Factor,* based on a sample of residents of Detroit, Michigan. This question was stated as follows: "When you have a decision to make in your everyday life do you ask yourself what GOD would want you to do?" As Table 22 indicates, Mexicans answer this question much more frequently in the affirmative and report engaging in the specified activity more than do Anglo citizens of the United States. For both the general public of the United States and urban Mexico, the more education the informant had, the less he engaged in this "devotional" activity. For the rural Michigan sample this relationship did not hold.[20] Since Lenski in his study of Detroit found that Protestants engaged in this "devotional" activity more than Catholics, it is of particular interest that Mexicans, who are predominantly Catholic, engage in it so much. That the activity is negatively correlated with educational attainment for both the urban Mexican sample and the relatively urbanized United States general public may indicate that it will decrease in the forseeable future.

TABLE 22—Informants from Mexico/United States who report seeking God's help in decision making, and frequency with which such help is sought

	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
Seek God's help and frequency	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes	70.4	74.2	91.5	90.2	89.2
No	28.9	25.5	8.5	9.5	10.8
Refuse to answer, don't know, etc.	.7	.3	--	.3	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FREQUENCY					
Always	18.4	14.3	50.7	56.4	65.8
Most of the time	27.3	36.2	29.5	23.7	18.9
Sometimes	23.9	23.2	10.1	10.1	4.5
No response	29.5	25.9	8.5	9.8	10.8
Refuse to answer, don't know, etc.	.9	.4	1.2	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[20] Product moment coefficients, Chi Square measures and degrees of freedom for the United States general public, rural Michigan and urban Mexico respectively are: .11, 21.8, 6df; .02, 5.9, 6df, and .17, 31.8, 8df. These measure are not available for the other samples.

TABLE 23—Responses to statements concerning homogeneity of beliefs: A—"Everyone should think the same about what is right and what is wrong." * and B—"I believe the world would be a better place if more people had the religious beliefs which I have." **

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
A. Everyone should think the same....					
Yes, strongly agree	32.4	25.5	69.8	72.0	62.5
Yes, slightly agree	16.1	17.8	7.9	23.8	31.3
Don't know	3.9	2.7	3.4	1.6	3.1
No, slightly disagree	19.9	25.0	3.8	1.6	2.4
No, strongly disagree	27.2	29.0	11.0	1.0	.7
Refusal to answer, etc.	.5	--	4.1	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
B. I believe the world....					
Yes, strongly agree	32.1	30.6	40.8	58.4	62.1
Yes, slightly agree	16.4	16.2	11.0	24.2	31.3
Don't know	5.7	3.5	10.2	2.8	3.5
No, slightly disagree	19.9	19.9	8.1	8.3	2.1
No, strongly disagree	25.4	29.1	28.5	6.3	1.0
Refusal to answer, etc.	.5	.7	1.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*For the United States general public and rural Michigan samples, the more highly educated the respondent the less likely he was to agree to this statement. For urban Mexico there was no statistically significant relationship between these two variables.
**These responses are significantly correlated with educational attainment in the United States general public, rural Michigan and urban Mexico. The more educated the respondent in these samples, the less the agreement with the statement.

Table 23 presents further data supporting Hypothesis II and is applicable to Hypothesis I, as well as Hypothesis 5, in Chapter 1. Mexicans much more frequently endorse items concerning desired homogeneity of beliefs than do Anglo citizens of the United States.

Hypothesis III: Evaluation of Family

The family in terms of the interaction taking place within it and in terms of its members' evaluation is more important in Mexico than in the United States. As indicated in Table 13, Mexicans generally rejected relationship through marriage to other religious groups such as Protestants and Jews to a much greater extent than United States citizens rejected out-group marriages. However, countering such an interpretation of these data is the consideration that more highly educated Mexicans manifest less of this type of boundary maintenance than those with less education, and except for the category "white," the better educated Mexicans show less rejection for other categories of persons than do the North Americans. Thus, the evidence of Table

13 is far from conclusive that the high boundary maintenance of the Mexican sample concerning his family means a relatively higher evaluation of the family. Hypothesis III is not supported by the data reported in Table 24, which seeks to establish the frequency of interaction of respondents in the samples with "kin and relatives." It appears that it is the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the Southwestern United States who are the most family-centered sample, judging from the criterion of interaction within the kinship system. Since it also appears that Anglo-Americans appear to interact more with kinfolks outside the home than do Mexicans, Hypothesis III remains without validation.[30]

In an attempt through the use of the ladder and self-anchorage scale to get the respondent to evaluate his family, community, occupation, political party, and country in relation to himself, the following statement was made: "Now, let's use the ladder in a different way. I would like you to think of yourself as compared to such things as . . . these organizations. On this card imagine that you are in the middle step of the ladder right now . . . at the top stand the things that are *most important* and at the bottom things that are the *least important*. On what step would you put your family." Table 25 contains these placements. It is evident that in so far as the instrument functions as planned, Mexicans evaluate the family relatively lower than North Americans but they evaluate their country higher. Table 25 presents no evidence in support of Hypothesis III. If insufficient evidence has been presented to reject the hypothesis, the data certainly call it into question. Of

TABLE 24—Frequency of interaction with kin and relatives: Citizens of Mexico/United States who report on frequency of getting together with relatives not living in the same house as informant

Frequency of interaction	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
At least once a week	39.2	45.5	57.2	33.7	37.2
A few times a month	17.3	15.6	12.9	7.4	8.7
About once a month	10.9	8.9	5.5	12.8	18.1
A few times a year	18.1	17.9	6.9	16.1	6.6
Once a year	6.7	7.6	7.9	16.9	12.8
Less than once a year	4.0	2.7	2.1	2.8	2.4
Never	3.6	1.4	3.0	9.2	13.9
No response	.2	.4	.5	1.1	.3
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[30]It is possible that some family interaction for the Mexican samples is excluded from the responses by the specification that it must take place with relatives outside the home. The investigators do not know the degree to which the Mexican samples represent extended families in which most meaningful family interaction would take place inside the home. However, the high scoring of the Spanish-speaking Latinos of the southwestern United States, who also have extended families, would suggest that no great modification would have to be made if information on the Mexican extended family were available, especially for the urban Mexican sample.

TABLE 25—Respondents' evaluations of community, family, country, occupation and political party in relation to himself

	UNITED STATES															MEXICO									
	General public					Rural Michigan					Spanish-speaking					Urban					Rural				
Ladder step	Community	Family	Country	Occupation	Political party	Community	Family	Country	Occupation	Political party	Community	Family	Country	Occupation	Political party	Community	Family	Country	Occupation	Political party	Community	Family	Country	Occupation	Political party
TOP																									
10	10.6	52.4	46.2	21.9	10.0	15.2	49.1	52.1	24.2	11.7	23.7	50.0	53.4	29.6	23.2	23.4	32.8	69.3	22.3	20.7	13.5	19.1	56.2	18.0	--
9	7.7	15.7	14.0	9.3	4.9	6.7	19.1	12.4	9.3	3.5	6.1	14.0	9.4	14.4	10.2	15.2	16.0	12.8	12.8	12.4	14.9	13.2	16.0	9.0	--
8	18.5	12.9	15.3	14.2	9.4	18.5	11.1	11.6	13.1	9.4	16.6	11.9	14.4	12.9	4.2	17.9	16.1	8.5	13.4	11.2	16.3	19.2	10.8	11.1	--
7	18.3	5.8	6.9	10.7	10.4	17.8	5.6	8.8	11.1	9.2	12.1	6.7	5.4	9.0	9.5	16.9	11.9	4.3	12.0	11.4	14.9	16.3	4.2	14.2	--
6	17.5	4.9	7.9	11.4	11.7	20.9	6.9	8.2	11.6	11.6	14.7	5.2	4.5	9.7	10.5	16.0	12.5	2.1	16.9	13.9	19.9	11.1	3.5	20.3	--
5	6.6	4.5	2.6	7.3	8.3	6.5	4.4	3.3	6.3	10.2	6.8	5.8	10.3	10.9	10.7	2.5	4.0	.6	5.6	5.6	3.1	6.2	.3	7.3	--
4	11.6	1.7	3.8	11.4	19.1	8.4	1.8	1.5	10.2	17.3	9.8	2.1	--	7.0	16.2	3.0	3.2	.3	9.7	9.3	4.2	2.8	.7	4.5	--
3	4.5	.5	.6	5.4	9.9	2.0	.2	.2	3.6	6.1	4.3	--	1.0	4.9	3.1	.9	.4	--	2.0	3.5	2.1	1.0	1.0	3.1	--
2	1.0	.1	.5	2.5	5.0	.7	.2	.7	3.9	6.1	1.0	--	--	.6	2.7	1.2	.5	--	1.1	1.8	1.7	1.4	--	1.0	--
1	.9	.3	.7	1.4	3.7	1.4	--	--	.6	4.1	1.0	1.4	--	--	1.4	.4	.6	.3	.7	1.1	.7	.7	--	.7	--
0	1.2	.2	.4	1.8	4.4	.3	.9	--	3.8	5.5	1.0	--	--	--	.8	.4	.4	.1	1.5	2.4	--	.3	--	.7	--
Don't know refuse etc.	1.6	1.0	1.1	2.7	3.2	1.6	.7	1.2	2.3	5.3	2.9	2.4	1.6	1.0	7.5	2.2	1.6	1.7	2.0	6.7	8.7	8.7	7.3	10.1	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

course, this is not to say that the family is unimportant in either country. As stated in previous chapters, for both countries first-hand contacts with cross-the-border relatives and second-hand contacts with relatives who have been in the across-the-border country are among the most important indicators of behavioral and desired linkage. The family cannot be written off as unimportant in either society.

Hypothesis IV: (A) Mobility-Immobility

Compared with citizens of the United States, Mexicans are more territorially immobile. This prediction is supported by the data in Table 26, which indicate that in general the Mexican population is more stable than that of the United States; however, in both countries there is considerable mobility. The rural components of both countries, especially rural Michigan, manifested the greatest stability.

Hypothesis IV: (B) Planned Change and Mobility

Mexicans plan changes that involve moving less than citizens of the United States. In response to the question, "Have you ever considered moving from this town," 48 percent of the United States general public sample answered affirmatively, as did 40 percent of the rural

TABLE 26—Mobility: present address related to place of birth for citizens of Mexico/United States

	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
Place of birth	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Data for informants:					
Born in same city, (town) as present residence	30.5	36.7	31.7	39.3	36.5
Born in different city, but same state as present residence	26.7	31.0	34.5	23.1	48.3
Born in different state, but same nation as present residence	35.3	28.4	10.2	35.0	13.5
Born in different nation from present residence	6.5	3.7	23.6	1.4	.3
Don't know, refusal, etc.	1.0	.2	--	1.2	1.4
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Data for informants' parents or grandparents:					
All born in respondent's country	40.4	52.0	59.5	94.4	98.3
Not all born in respondent's country	58.7	44.8	38.7	4.0	.3
Don't know, refusal, other	.9	3.2	1.8	1.6	1.4
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Michigan group and 29 percent of the Spanish-speaking Southwestern sample. In contrast, only 30 percent of the urban and 18 percent of the rural Mexicans indicated they considered moving.

VALUE ORIENTATION RELATED TO CHANGE

Hypothesis V: Orientation to the Future

Mexicans are less oriented to the future than citizens of the United States. As shown by data in Table 27, Mexicans much more frequently agree with the following statement: "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself." Of course, one such statement cannot prove or disprove the hypothesis, but the results point in the direction of validation. Such as orientation fits Max Weber's characterization of traditional society as governed by the "authority of an eternal yesterday."

Hypothesis VI: Trust in People

Mexicans manifest less trust in people, generally, than do citizens of the United States. In line with Max Weber's thought that Protestantism, the dominant religion of the United States, promotes confidence between people not bound together by kinship, the above hypothesis was generated and the following statement used in the study to test it: "People can be trusted." The much larger proportion of Americans who agree with this statement despite the Mexican's tendency to answer in the affirmative tends to support the hypothesis (Table 28). Whyte (22) found that Latin American Catholics in Peru responded as did the Mexicans in the present study. Here again one item cannot prove the hypothesis, but the data do support it.

TABLE 27—Responses to the statement: "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself"

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes, strongly agree	28.6	26.9	60.6	42.0	33.7
Yes, slightly agree	18.4	18.8	8.3	33.4	34.3
Don't know	2.2	1.1	4.1	6.6	18.1
No, slightly disagree	22.0	19.8	8.7	11.3	7.6
No, strongly disagree	28.4	32.7	14.2	6.7	6.3
Refusal to answer, etc.	.4	.7	4.1	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 28—Responses to the statement: "People can be trusted"

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes, strongly agree	25.4	24.5	16.9	9.7	12.2
Yes, slightly agree	39.0	47.2	33.8	30.4	37.1
Don't know	2.8	2.2	4.4	3.4	4.5
No, slightly disagree	20.7	16.7	26.4	27.8	24.7
No, strongly disagree	11.5	8.8	15.8	28.7	21.5
Refusal to answer, etc.	.6	.6	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Hypothesis VII: Rank through Ascription-Achievement

Rank is more frequently derived from ascription and less frequently from achievement in Mexico than in the United States. Table 29 presents responses from United States citizens to the question: "If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged—working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle and upper?" (6) Respondents were handed a card with these designations. The table also includes the responses of Mexicans to the same question in Spanish, but with only the three classes, "high, middle class and the poor class." [31]

Of particular note is the large proportion of Mexicans who claim to have middle class status in the Mexican urban sample. As would be

TABLE 29—Self-assigned class status or rank: Citizens of Mexico and the United States

Class status or rank	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
In the United States					
Working	29.0	34.6	14.6	--	--
Lower	2.8	1.3	5.5	--	--
Lower middle	8.7	12.2	14.0	--	--
Middle	40.1	42.2	43.8	--	--
Upper middle	16.5	9.1	16.4	--	--
Upper	2.3	.6	4.3	--	--
Don't know, etc.	.6	--	1.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In Mexico					
Poor	--	--	--	53.3	83.7
Middle	--	--	--	45.8	16.0
Upper	--	--	--	.9	.3
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[31] These designations were used both because they had been found to be effective in getting informant response, and to make the data comparable with other studies.

TABLE 30—Evaluation of hand labor versus office work: Responses to the statement: "The man who works with his hands has more self respect than the man who does office work"

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Yes, strongly agree	14.4	18.0	40.6	31.7	39.7
Yes, slightly agree	10.5	19.0	16.0	25.6	31.9
Don't know	8.6	7.5	13.8	8.9	9.7
No, slightly disagree	26.7	21.5	7.7	17.2	9.7
No, strongly disagree	39.1	34.0	19.2	16.5	9.0
Refusal to answer, etc.	.7	--	2.7	.1	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

expected, these responses are significantly and positively correlated with educational attainment. Actually, the relationship between these two variables is closer for Mexican than for the United States, and may, as indicated below, detract from support of Hypothesis VII. The contribution of the class designations used can, at this stage of the analysis, only be conjectured.

In eliciting information pertinent to Hypothesis VII, degrees of agreement or disagreement were sought in response to the statement, "The man who 'works with his hands' has more self-respect than the man who does office work." The results are not as predicted, and insofar as the data in Table 30 accurately measure the evaluation of hand work, they indicate that contrary to much of the anthropological literature, hand work is not depreciated in Mexico. The results tabulated in Table 30 do not support the commonly expressed notion that most of the respected positions are inherited by a would-be aristocracy who work in offices and do not work with their hands.

Hypothesis VIII: Authoritarianism vs. Nonauthoritarianism

Mexicans are more authoritarian than citizens of the United States and this is expressed in need for assuming superordinate and/or subordinate status-roles and rank. As a partial means of testing this hypothesis all informants were requested to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement with the following statements: "Whatever we do, it is necessary that our leaders outline carefully what it is to be done and exactly how to go about it;" "Children should be taught that there is only one right way to do things;" "I find it easier to follow rules than to do things on my own." As indicated in Table 31, Mexicans tend to endorse these authoritarian statements more strongly than do United

TABLE 31—Responses to items measuring authoritarianism

Items measuring authoritarianism	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Authoritarianism of leaders					
Yes, strongly agree	36.6	33.8	56.9	46.2	42.7
Yes, slightly agree	26.6	29.1	17.3	36.5	35.4
Don't know	7.0	5.0	4.2	6.3	15.3
No, slightly disagree	13.7	16.7	6.8	5.6	4.5
No, strongly disagree	15.1	15.1	12.1	5.4	2.1
Refused to answer, etc.	1.0	.3	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Authoritarianism in family					
Yes, strongly agree	40.8	43.9	72.0	78.2	71.6
Yes, slightly agree	18.9	20.3	15.1	16.0	25.3
Don't know	2.9	1.3	.8	1.6	1.7
No, slightly disagree	16.8	17.9	1.5	2.6	.7
No, strongly disagree	20.0	16.6	7.9	1.6	.7
Refused to answer, etc.	.6	--	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Need for definite rules					
Yes, strongly agree	23.5	20.0	47.3	39.1	34.7
Yes, slightly agree	25.7	36.7	23.2	32.4	35.8
Don't know	3.0	1.4	3.0	8.2	15.6
No, slightly disagree	26.7	29.5	5.9	11.8	9.4
No, strongly disagree	20.3	22.4	17.9	8.5	4.5
Refused to answer, etc.	.8	--	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

States citizens. It is particularly interesting to note that educational attainment was not correlated with the level of agreement with these items for the Mexican sample studied, but was significantly related to it for the general public of the United States and rural Michigan—the higher the educational attainment, the greater the disagreement.

Hypothesis IX: Attitude Toward Role of Government in Change

Changes that promise to improve the welfare of individuals but mean that the government may become more powerful through the introduction of the changes will be more acceptable to Mexicans than Anglo-Americans. This hypothesis is, of course, not unrelated to the previous one. To test it respondents were asked their evaluations of the following items concerning assistance the government could render to the people: "The only way to provide good medical care for all the people is through some program of governmental health insurance;" "Rural youth who remain on the farm should be given more training to make them better farmers, even if we have to pay more taxes to provide that training;" and "Health experts say adding certain chemicals to drinking water results in less decay in people's teeth. If you could

TABLE 32—Responses to items concerning government assistance and fluoridation of water

Items on government assistance and fluoridation	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Governmental health insurance					
Yes, strongly agree	36.9	27.2	62.6	59.8	62.2
Yes, slightly agree	21.1	21.1	12.7	22.5	28.5
Don't know	5.9	7.1	6.2	4.0	6.9
No, slightly disagree	13.9	19.2	1.7	6.7	2.1
No, strongly disagree	21.7	25.4	14.1	7.0	.3
Refusal to answer, etc.	.5	--	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Training of rural youth					
Yes, strongly agree	32.9	29.3	59.2	69.5	77.1
Yes, slightly agree	25.9	27.2	15.5	22.8	19.1
Don't know	8.1	3.5	10.5	2.5	3.8
No, slightly disagree	15.6	16.5	7.2	3.2	--
No, strongly disagree	17.4	22.5	7.6	2.0	--
Refusal to answer, etc.	.1	1.0	--	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Fluoridation of water					
Yes	63.9	54.1	72.4	74.7	71.5
Maybe	9.3	6.9	7.9	7.3	6.9
Probably not	4.5	10.0	6.8	1.5	2.1
No	15.5	20.8	5.5	13.8	13.9
Don't know, refuse, etc.	6.8	8.2	7.4	2.7	5.6
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

add these chemicals to your water with little cost to you, would you be willing to have the chemicals added?" As indicated in Table 32, Mexicans agree with these statements much more than do Anglo-Americans.

Hypothesis X: Change of Sacred Norms

Changes that are proposed for both Mexico and the United States, but which violate sacred norms of only one society, will be resisted more in that than in the other society. Perhaps this statement is more axiomatic than hypothetical, but it permits consideration of data on property rights and birth control. Many writers have noted that norms concerning private property and its unrestricted accumulation through free enterprise approach, if do not reach, the level of sacredness. Thus, Northrup writes about the "Anglo-American Lockean doctrine of the primacy of property rights (maintaining that it) is this . . . principle . . . of property rights over human, social or economic needs . . . that Mexico and (other Latin American) countries are refusing to accept (13). In rural Mexico the *ejido,* a voluntary cooperative type of ownership of rural lands, has no counterpart in Anglo-America (16).

TABLE 33—Responses to items concerning property

Items concerning property	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Division of property unfair					
Yes, strongly agree	38.6	33.0	62.0	59.3	57.0
Yes, slightly agree	23.4	25.4	15.3	22.5	23.6
Don't know	7.5	3.3	5.9	3.5	7.6
No, slightly disagree	12.3	17.2	5.5	9.0	8.7
No, strongly disagree	17.7	20.7	8.6	5.7	3.1
Refusal to answer, etc.	.5	.4	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Property should be shared					
Yes, strongly agree	21.3	27.9	31.4	28.9	28.5
Yes, slightly agree	18.9	20.3	13.2	33.0	36.5
Don't know	10.0	6.3	7.3	5.1	8.7
No, slightly disagree	15.8	15.9	10.1	15.4	12.8
No, strongly disagree	33.5	29.4	33.6	17.6	13.5
Refusal to answer, etc.	.5	.2	2.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

To test the hypothesis on property rights respondents were asked their reactions to two statements: (1) "Some people have too much property and others don't have enough" and (2) "Property is something that should be shared." As indicated in Table 33, much larger proportions of Mexicans endorse these statements than do Anglo-Americans. Interestingly enough, the more educational attainment American respondents had, the greater the tendency to disagree with these statements. This held true for the Mexicans on the second statement but not for the first.[32] The willingness of Mexicans and other Latin Americans to have property shared more equitably suggests that socialism will be more acceptable south of the border.

To test the assumption that the non-practice of birth control as a norm might be as sacred in Mexico, as the preservation of private property was assumed to be in the United States, respondents were asked their feelings about a married couple practicing birth control. As indicated in Table 34, in comparison with respondents in the general United States and rural Michigan samples, fewer Mexicans express approval and more Mexicans indicate disapproval of birth control. This finding supports Hypothesis X.

The higher the educational attainment of Anglo-Americans the greater the tendency to approve of birth control, whereas for Mexicans

[32]Respective product moment correlation coefficients measuring the relationship between educational attainment and extent of disagreement for the United States general public, rural Michigan and urban Mexico were for the two statements above as follows: (1) .13, .20 and −.06, (2) .13, .21 and .14. The higher the education the more the disagreement. All coefficients except the third (−.06) for urban Mexico are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 34—Readiness to accept change—birth control: Responses to the statement: "Family planning or birth control has been discussed by many people. What is your feeling about a married couple practicing birth control? If you had to decide, which ONE of these statements best expresses your point of view?

Response	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
It is always right	23.8	18.5	27.0	25.1	29.9
It is usually right	38.8	46.9	10.7	18.9	12.5
Don't know	13.0	11.8	25.9	6.9	13.9
It is usually wrong	11.6	11.9	20.8	26.4	17.4
It is always wrong	12.6	10.9	16.2	22.7	26.0
Other responses	.2	--	--	--	.3
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

there was no demonstrable correlation between the two variables.[33] Although over two-fifths of the Mexican respondents indicate they believe birth control as here described is right, relatively many educated as well as uneducated persons maintain that it is wrong. Apparently improvement in the level of education should not be expected to increase the proportions in Mexico who will endorse birth control.

Hypothesis XI: Change and Anomie

Rapid changes are producing more frustration in Mexico than in the United States. Unfortunately the present study provides insufficient data to test this hypothesis adequately. Nevertheless, the data available in Table 35 tend to support it. This table summarizes responses to statements designed to indicate the informant's normlessness or alienation. The statements are: "People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend upon" and "I often wonder what the meaning of life really is." The much more extensive and stronger agreement to these statements on the part of the Mexicans than North Americans is instructive. For the United States general public and rural Michigan, the higher the education, the less the agreement with these statements. For urban Mexico the relationship between the two variables, as expressed by the correlation coefficient is not so close. If the indexes measure frustration, it appears that improved educational attainment may reduce this frustration in the United States, but would be less effective in this regard in Mexico.[34]

[33]The Pearsonian correlation coefficients for the general public of the United States, rural Michigan and urban Mexico between educational attainment and extent of agreement were respectively as follows: −.18, −.19 and .002.

[34]The respective product moment correlation coefficients for the United States general public, rural Michigan, and urban Mexico, for extent of disagreement with the statement, as reported in Table 55, are respectively: .20, .24 and −.04.

TABLE 35—Responses to items concerning normlessness

Items concerning normlessness	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Normlessness in the midst of change					
Yes, strongly agree	18.1	21.3	56.9	49.8	35.1
Yes slightly agree	25.7	25.7	24.5	32.0	29.2
Don't know	6.4	4.3	5.1	3.1	10.4
No, slightly disagree	26.4	26.7	5.9	8.8	11.5
No, strongly disagree	22.6	22.0	6.2	6.3	3.8
Refusal to answer, etc.	.8	--	1.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Normlessness and the meaning of life					
Yes, strongly agree	26.5	27.9	35.2	37.0	24.7
Yes, slightly agree	28.9	28.8	19.8	38.6	40.6
Don't know	8.3	5.1	15.7	8.1	22.2
No, slightly disagree	14.3	14.5	9.2	10.9	10.4
No, strongly disagree	21.4	23.7	18.7	5.4	2.1
Refusal to answer, etc.	.6	--	1.4	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Some writers have pictured Mexico as the land of resignation; devoid of worry. Table 36 reports results obtained from permitting informants to place themselves on a ladder in terms of how much they worry about the future. It argues against such worry-free claims. The level of worry now and five years from now is much higher in Mexico as ascertained from this "worry-ladder" than in the United States. The available materials tend to support Hypothesis XI.[35]

Hypothesis XII: Expectations of Change in the Near Future

Mexicans now believe their lives will change more in the near future than do citizens of the United States. As indicated by Table 37, Mexicans anticipate great change in improvement of their level of living in the next five years. Approximately half of the Mexicans, when asked to place themselves on the 10-step ladder, assuming that at the top "Stands a person who is living the best possible life and at the bottom . . . a person who is living the worst possible," placed themselves on the third step or below. This stands in sharp contrast to the citizens of the United States whose comparable choice was step 7. However, when asked where they believe they would be five years from now, Mexicans, especially the urban Mexicans, move up the ladder several steps as compared with one step for North Americans. The data in the table support Hypothesis XII.

[35]Measures of relationship between educational attainment and placement on this "worry ladder" were low and for the most part insignificant statistically.

TABLE 36—Worry about the future: Citizens of Mexico/United States assigning themselves to ladder steps on the basis of their conceived worry about the future—responses to the following: "Suppose at the top of the ladder stands a person who is completely free from worry about the future. At the bottom of the ladder is a person with many worries about the future. What step of the ladder do you stand on right now? . . . stood on five years ago? . . . will be on five years from now?"

	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish-speaking			Urban			Rural		
Ladder step	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence
TOP															
10	10.8	12.7	18.7	16.1	17.8	20.5	8.5	14.1	18.2	4.5	5.2	8.3	4.9	5.2	5.2
9	7.1	6.2	12.1	5.9	8.4	10.3	8.2	5.0	16.1	3.5	3.8	9.6	3.8	2.8	5.6
8	15.0	13.0	18.6	15.0	11.4	14.3	17.0	10.0	20.3	8.0	8.0	14.7	5.2	6.2	5.9
7	13.7	14.3	12.4	13.3	10.6	16.2	16.6	14.5	9.0	7.0	7.4	10.6	8.0	5.2	6.2
6	11.0	11.4	9.4	9.2	15.2	6.3	4.4	10.3	4.6	10.9	9.0	11.9	10.1	10.4	11.8
5	18.0	18.6	10.5	21.7	15.9	13.8	14.0	13.7	11.7	16.2	16.2	11.3	11.1	12.5	12.1
4	6.8	8.5	4.6	4.5	5.2	2.7	7.9	8.4	8.4	11.2	13.7	7.9	15.6	12.9	10.9
3	6.8	6.3	3.6	4.6	4.8	5.1	3.1	7.1	2.4	10.2	11.9	6.9	8.7	12.1	10.4
2	3.6	4.2	1.8	5.0	4.2	1.2	6.6	1.6	1.0	8.4	9.5	5.9	8.0	11.5	6.9
1	3.8	2.9	2.3	2.1	1.7	1.0	2.7	8.4	2.7	5.3	4.9	2.5	6.2	5.6	5.2
0	2.7	1.2	1.6	2.6	4.6	3.0	11.0	6.9	1.4	12.8	8.2	5.7	10.1	6.9	6.6
Don't know refusal, etc.	.7	.7	4.4	--	.2	5.6	--	--	4.2	2.0	2.2	4.7	8.3	8.7	13.2
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 37—Self-perceived level of living: Citizens of Mexico/United States assigning themselves to ladder steps on the basis of the following instructions: "Now, let's change things which stand at the top and bottom of the ladder. Suppose we say that at the top of the ladder stands a person who is living the best possible life and at the bottom stands a person who is living the worst possible life. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand on right now? . . . stood on five years ago? . . . will be on five years from now?"

	UNITED STATES									MEXICO					
	General public			Rural Michigan			Spanish-speaking			Urban			Rural		
Ladder step	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence	Now	5 years ago	5 years hence
TOP															
10	16.0	13.2	26.7	19.0	16.3	23.7	17.8	14.3	26.7	3.3	3.8	12.0	4.2	2.3	6.9
9	6.3	6.4	15.6	7.2	5.5	10.7	4.7	2.6	15.6	2.3	1.7	9.8	2.1	3.2	6.6
8	20.1	14.2	18.5	15.7	12.5	20.2	21.2	10.6	18.5	5.1	3.8	13.7	4.9	4.5	12.1
7	14.0	13.2	12.9	17.3	14.9	13.1	13.3	10.6	12.9	7.1	3.1	15.6	9.4	5.1	9.4
6	14.2	12.5	7.3	9.7	9.6	5.3	11.4	14.7	7.3	11.8	9.7	12.4	9.7	8.6	10.8
5	18.8	20.8	9.6	22.1	21.9	10.5	19.0	21.9	9.6	25.9	8.7	12.7	15.2	18.6	10.4
4	5.3	8.0	2.2	1.8	5.4	2.8	4.4	9.7	2.2	11.4	10.8	5.6	9.0	14.7	11.8
3	2.3	5.3	1.2	1.1	4.2	1.5	3.0	6.2	1.2	9.2	15.3	6.1	10.8	11.9	6.6
2	.7	2.5	.5	1.3	3.7	--	1.8	3.2	.5	9.6	11.1	3.9	12.5	14.5	5.2
1	.6	1.9	.6	.5	2.3	1.4	--	2.7	.6	5.3	9.4	2.0	8.3	6.6	3.8
0	1.0	1.1	.9	3.2	2.6	4.4	2.0	2.1	.9	7.4	14.3	2.5	5.6	8.2	3.8
Don't know refusal, etc.	.7	.9	4.0	1.1	1.1	6.4	1.4	1.4	4.0	1.6	8.3	3.7	8.3	1.8	12.6
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 38—Responses to items concerning readiness to accept change

Responses	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Ease in accepting change					
Very easy	11.5	11.4	14.5	18.6	19.4
Somewhat easy	30.6	30.9	14.8	27.1	32.3
Don't know	2.6	.9	21.1	3.1	4.5
Slightly difficult	39.1	40.1	30.8	27.0	21.9
Very difficult	16.2	16.7	16.7	24.2	21.9
Other answers	--	--	2.1	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stability in work patterns					
Yes, strongly agree	31.0	38.0	60.9	44.7	40.0
Yes, slightly agree	21.8	22.0	18.4	32.3	37.2
Don't know	3.1	1.1	.8	6.1	13.5
No, slightly disagree	21.1	20.0	7.1	11.7	6.9
No, strongly disagree	22.4	18.9	10.1	5.2	2.4
Refuse to answer, etc.	.6	--	2.7	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Hypothesis XIII: Evaluation of Change

Mexicans do not evaluate change as a general phenomenon as favorably as do the citizens of the United States. Although this generalization is a popular theme in the literature comparing the two countries, little in the present study supports this thesis. Two questions were designed to test the hypothesis: "Some people are more set in their ways than others. How would you rate yourself—do you find it very easy to change your ways, somewhat easy to change your ways, slightly difficult to change, or very difficult to change?" and "I like the kind of work that lets me do things about the same way from one week to the next." As Table 38 indicates, Mexicans rate themselves as more easily adjusting to change than do North Americans—a finding contary to Hypothesis XIII.

In evaluating their preferences for stability in work expectancy patterns, however, Mexicans indicate they generally prefer work that involves the same routine from one week to the next (Table 38). Interestingly, the greater the educational attainment the less the agreement with the statement.[36] Hypothesis XIII seems to be neither clearly supported nor refuted by the small amount of evidence from these two items.

Hypothesis XIV: Particularism vs. Universalism in Office

Particularism in office receives less negative evaluation in Mexico than in the United States. Many writers, including Whetten, (21)

[36]The product moment correlation coefficients were respectively: .35, .34 and .12. All are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

consider the taking of bribes by government officials one of the greatest, if not the greatest, deterrent to progress in Mexico. The questionnaire item formulated to test the above hypothesis followed Durkheim's thesis that punishment for crime is a symbolic expression of the community attitude toward it. Punishments thus become an index to the evaluation of the norm that is being violated, and is not only a deterring force.

Informants were presented with the following proposition: "Some people in public office take bribes. What form of punishment, if any, do you think should be given to those public officials who do take bribes?" Table 39 indicates the proportions of informants recommending various types of punishment. In general, Anglo Americans tend to specify more severe punishments—removal from office, heavy fines, or imprisonment—than do Mexican respondents. Although the differences reported in Table 39 are not so great as anticipated, they nonetheless support the hypothesis.

TABLE 39—Sanctions against particularism and nepotism in government: Responses to the question: "What forms of punishment, if any, do you think should be given to those public officials who . . . take bribes?"

Response	UNITED STATES			MEXICO	
	General public	Rural Michigan	Spanish-speaking	Urban	Rural
Punishment recommended					
Death penalty	1.4	2.7	1.4	2.2	3.1
Imprisonment	44.1	37.3	37.6	29.8	33.4
Heavy fine	45.3	44.7	32.2	25.4	13.2
Light fine	3.9	5.0	1.8	16.0	16.4
Removal from office	75.9	79.1	98.3	56.8	41.1
No punishment	.7	.8	7.3	1.7	6.3
Other treatment	2.6	3.3	3.4	1.0	.7
Don't know or refusal	1.3	1.8	1.4	2.8	5.9
~~TOTAL PERCENT~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~	~~100.0~~

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this report we have explored information concerning the potential collaboration of citizens of the United States and Mexico. As indicated in Chapter 1, the investigation was designed to test a number of hypotheses derived from sociological theory and from previous research. In general, the available data support predictions regarding the correlates of systemic linkage.

Among social scientists studying intergroup relations within the United States and among researchers and administrators dealing with different types of international exchange, much attention has centered on the conditions promoting social contact and on the consequences of such encounters. Sheer physical proximity, of course, is important in providing opportunity for interaction, and the data presented here attest to the permeability of the U.S.-Mexican border: Almost three-fifths of the respondents in the southwestern sample and almost one-fourth of the informants in the U.S. general sample, as well as in the urban Mexican sample, report visiting the country across the border. Aside from these first-hand contacts, the data in Chapters 2 and 3 detail the frequency of other cross-national contacts including more indirect exposure through mass media.

What are the consequences of such cross-cultural contacts? Despite the well-known sociological generalization about the correlation between interaction and positive sentiment, and despite the hopes of many individuals involved in intergroup and cross-cultural relations, it so happens that contacts between representatives of different social, racial or cultural groups do not necessarily result in friendships and desire for further interaction. Only under certain conditions are positive attitudinal outcomes attendant upon intergroup interaction. As Williams reports in reviewing research on racial and cultural relations, positive attitudinal results are to be anticipated when the relations of the participants in intergroup contacts are "informal, cooperative, noncontrived and recurrent over a relatively long period (23)." This type of relationship generally prevails in interaction arenas such as the church, the neighborhood, some work settings, and in family interactions. Our findings concerning the consequences of cross-cultural contacts in such interaction arenas corroborate Williams' generalization from other investigations: These contacts are associated with positive attitudes toward nationals from across the border. The nature of our

data, of course, does not permit a straight-forward causal interpretation concerning the association of behavioral and desired linkage. Actually, the association of these variables probably involves a more complex spiralling type of relationship in which the interaction under the conditions specified produces positive sentiments, and the positive attitudes in turn motivate individuals to desire further contacts, and this desire leads to more interaction, etc. Our information also suggests that the conditions surrounding the cross-cultural contacts reported here promote positive attitudes that become generalized on both an interpersonal and a national level. That is, individuals reporting friendships with across-the-border nationals also tend to evaluate the friendliness of such nationals more highly than do respondents without such contacts. Furthermore, informants reporting behavioral contacts with alters from across the border also tend to endorse more collaboration between the United States and Mexico.

Aside from the information regarding conditions promoting the association between behavioral and attitudinal measures of linkage, the present findings confirm those from other investigations of intergroup relations on a number of points. As other researchers have noted, life experiences that expose individuals to a broader range of human differences—whether ideological, racial or cultural—also tend to liberalize attitudes. By introducing shadings of categorization between right and wrong and widening the limits of an individual's knowledge of others, education is perhaps the greatest contributor to tolerance (2, 18). As noted repeatedly in the present report, education is one of the most consistent predictors of the various measures of actual behavioral linkage as well as of desired linkage with nationals from across the border. Another variable related to the heterogeneity of ideas and values to which an individual is exposed—the size of his place of residence—also appears positively associated with measures of systemic linkage.

Some of the data elicited in the present research concerning attitudes toward others, and particularly toward authority, also lend partial cross-cultural support to American data regarding the personality concomitants of prejudice. Individuals identified as highly prejudiced tend to display a reliance on authority figures for decision making, a preference for hierarchically structured relations, a generalized distrust of others, and a tendency to dichotomize issues and people into good and bad, right and wrong, etc. (1). As noted in Chapter 6, relatively high proportions of Mexican respondents agree with statements expressing such authoritarian attitudes—a finding confirming Hewes'

summary of analyses of Mexican national character (5). Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 4, Mexicans also tend to express relatively high social distance from social groups with belief systems and other characteristics differing from their own. Of course, in both the United State and Mexico, social boundary maintenance is related to educational attainment: Informants with more formal education tend to express less social distance than do those with fewer years of schooling. However, it is interesting to note that education and authoritarianism do not involve the same pattern of relationship in both countries. In the United States, individuals with higher education tend to reject authoritarian statements. To some extent, of course, this finding might be related to the relative sophistication of the more educated respondents in recognizing unpopular statements; however, to the extent that authoritarian behavior is unrewarded in this culture, then it is likely to diminish. In Mexico, on the other hand, the present study reveals that individuals with more formal education are just as likely to endorse authoritarian statements as are their compatriots with less schooling; however, as just noted, the more educated express less prejudice as measured by the social distance scale. This apparently paradoxical finding, in terms of the thesis concerning the "authoritarian personality," suggests an important area for further cross-cultural exploration.

In addition to the data concerning correlates of actual and desired linkage between nationals of the United States and Mexico, another contribution of the present investigation involves the accumulation of information relevant to certain anthropological generalizations concerning Mexico. As indicated in Chapter 6, data gathered in a systematic manner from probability samples do not confirm some of the assertions from field studies involving casual sampling and intuitive speculation. For example, one of the popular themes in comparisons of cultural values in the United States and Mexico contrasts the high evaluation of family life among Mexicans with the relative depreciation of the family unit among North Americans. As the data from the present study indicate, respondents in the United States samples actually tend to report more interaction with relatives outside of the home and generally accord the family even more importance than do Mexicans. As noted in discussing these data, the family appears important in both countries, and the stereotyped contrast appears unwarranted by the available data. Other information reported in Chapter 6 concerning attitudes regarding manual labor and feelings of resignation and expressed worry about the future also challenge the validity

of many portrayals of Mexico and underline the importance of systematic cross-cultural research designed to elicit current information regarding salient values and to test predictions based on theory and on research in one cultural setting. The present report is a contribution to this cross-cultural research endeavor.

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The application of the procedure used in this study is also influenced by another instrument used in social-psychological research—the semantic differential. The home nation, nation across the border, as well as the Soviet Union were placed on the ladder as here discussed in terms of the evaluation of how "good" or how "bad" they were. They were also placed in terms of how "strong" or how "weak" the informants perceived the nations to be.

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The categories used by Lenski are different from those used in the present study but indicate that for the whole sample of Detroit with 659 interviews there were fewer affirmative than in the Latino and Mexican samples. In Lenski's study responses were as follows: often, 34 percent; sometimes, 43 percent; never, 18 percent; inapplicable because of not believing in God, 3 percent; and no answer, 2 percent. After Lenski had reviewed data from the present study he observed that differences "seem consistent with the thesis that the United States is a more secularized society—Herberg's thesis among others—your evidence seems clearly to support the secularization hypothesis."—From personal correspondence.

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RELATED RESEARCH

The following works are listed as a comprehensive guide to investigations on the Mexican-United States Border and other Latin American sites, over a period of some 15 years under the support of funds made available by the Carnegie Corporation for a project dealing with the United States-Mexican Border and Diffusion of Technology in Latin America, and by the Division of Hospital and Medical Facilities of the United States Public Health Service for project W-108, "Anglo-Latino Relations in Hospitals and Communities," both under the general direction of the senior author. In the works listed here the reader will find many special interest items reflecting Mexican-United States and Anglo-Latino social relations. In these studies also may be found many of the antecedents of the conceptualizations used in this bulletin to which this bibliography is appended.

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APPENDIX A

The following five tables present correlation coefficients expressing associations between the small indexes described in Table 1 for each of the samples considered in this report (19). For each index two measures of association are reported: The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient appears first, followed by either the Gamma coefficient or by the Contingency coefficient. Gamma coefficients are given for the intercorrelations of the d, e and f indexes with each other as well as for the association of the g, h and i indexes with each other. Contingency coefficients are reported for the association of the d, e, f, a and b indexes with the g, h and i indexes. Contingency coefficients marked with a single asterisk have an associated x^2 with $p < .0\Xi$.

1. U. S. General Sample: Correlations Between Small Indexes.

	D1	D2	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	F1	F2	F3	G1	G2	G3	G4	H1	H2	I1	I2	I3	I4
D1	31 63		30 74	25 75	19 74	41 87	25 70	21 45	30 59	26 58	12 15*	15 18*	10 11*	-02 02	-17 17*	-21 21*	-12 12*	-10 10*	-15 15*	04 04
D2			12 33	15 49	10 35	20 30	15 49	29 54	33 59	47 78	-11 16	-15 19	-10 15*	01 04	10 10	16 16	01 06	02 03	01 10	01 04
E1				27 79	39 94	44 90	18 64	09 27	16 45	14 42	-03 05	-06 07	-02 03	001 001	07 07*	12 12*	11 11*	10 10*	15 15*	06 06*
E2					14 69	23 74	22 74	13 41	16 51	12 42	-08 09*	-10 11*	-02 02	-01 01	06 06*	08 07*	05 05	02 02	07 07*	01 01
E3						40 94	13 65	12 45	03 16	13 54	-05 06	-06 08	-01 04	01 01	04 04	08 08*	09 09*	07 07*	17 17*	03 03
E4							27 78	13 35	27 64	20 32	-04 -11*	-08 10*	-06 07	02 03	11 11*	16 16*	10 11*	07 07*	14 14*	03 03
E5							08 26	17 48	09 33	09 12	-07 09*	05 06*	02 02	05 05	11 11	06 06*	07 07*	07 07*	07 07*	02 02
F1									30 50	31 58	-13 17	-15 20	-07 10*	02 03	10 10	17 17	-- --	03 03	05 09	06 06
F2										27 51	-15 19	-16 22	-09 12*	-- 02	13 14	20 20	03 04	04 04	07 07	04 05
F3											-13 16	-14 16	-05 10*	-04 05	07 08	13 13	-02 02	-02 03	05 05	-- 04
A1											16 19*	15 17*	06 07	03 03	-14 13*	-17 17*	03 03	01 1[illegible]	02 02	-04 04
A2											18 24*	18 23*	05 05	03 03	-13 13*	-17 17*	-01 01	-09 09*	-04 04	-12 12*
B1											-04 08*	-04 07	-03 05	05 05*	07 07*	02 02	04 04	04 04	03 03	-- --
B2											-01 04	-04 06	02 02	-- --	03 03	04 04	02 02	01 01	04 04	01 01
B3												-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
G1												67 94	09 33	05 09	24 45	18 35	-07-17	-10-33	-11-21	-09-37
G2													07 31	05 12	24 45	20 39	-08-20	-11-34	-12-34	-12-46
G3														04 17	13 56	07 30	05 30	-07-60	-10-37	-02-13
G4															06 12	22 42	-07-17	-06-21	-09-17	-06-26
H1																33 60	-27-59	-24-70	-25-47	-17-62
H2																	-22-53	-19-60	-23-44	-15-68
I1																		57 96	41 90	35 88
I2																			30 95	43 91
I3																				19 84
I4																				

* Starred items statistically significant; decimals have been omitted throughout; maximum value is 1.00

2. Rural Michigan Sample: Correlations Between Small Indexes.

	D1	D2	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	F1	F2	F3	G1	G2	G3	G4	H1	H2	I1	I2	I3	I4
D1	06	20	15 53	19 72	-- -01	25 85	12 52	10 17	16 37	-01 -10	14 15*	50 18	12 15	-12 12*	-29 28*	-27 26*	-15 15*	-15 15*	-21 21*	-12 12*
D2			02 08	10 49	11 60	-- -21	08 40	34 60	18 46	34 76	-13 16	-10 15	-03 06	04 09	08 09	04 04	-02 04	09 09	04 04	08 09
E1				-05-100	-03-100	10 39	-05-100	-01-08	09 30	-09-100	-09 10	-06 08	-07 11	-02 02	06 06	10 10	08 08	07 07	11 11	05 05
E2					-03-100	23 84	20 79	01 02	01 -01	01 21	-03 12	-01 18*	-07 19	07 07	07 07	08 08	-03 03	01 01	01 01	-04 04
E3						-03-100	09 64	02 15	-06-100	-04-100	08 08	-04 08	-15 17	10 10	08 08	09 09	-- --	04 04	-05 05	03 03
E4							38 93	14 53	22 70	-07-100	-10 10	-08 09	-01 10	-02 02	16 16*	07 07	10 10	06 06	07 07	04 04
E5								12 39	26 73	05 15	13 15	-05 12	-17 27	07 08	-- --	08 08	12 12	01 01*	09 09	-03 03
F1									21 46	28 56	-14 16	-11 14	08 12	09 04	06 07	15 15	08 09	07 08	09 09	12 12
F2										16 42	-16 20	-14 20	-12 13	06 13	19 19	18 18	10 10	07 08	07 09	10 10
F3											05 21	-05 15	-13 18*	10 10	-- 06	04 04	02 08	-- 06	-- 02	03 03
A1											22 26*	29 29*	20 19	02 02	-09 09	-22 22*	-09 09	-12 12*	-17 17	-11 11
A2											30 30*	33 34*	11 12	04 04	-18 17*	-26 25*	-04 04	-14 14*	-20 20*	-07 07
B1											02 10	03 11	02 17	07 07	-06 06	06 06	03 03	02 02	-05 05	01 01
B2												-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
B3												-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
G1												71 95	14 100	21 41	27 31	26 49	-10 -25	-06 -22	-16 -32	-20 -88
G2													13 100	18 36	26 49	29 35	-14 -33	-15 -31	-14 -28	-19 -80
G3														09 56	07 43	17 100	-08-100	-04-100	-09 -57	-03-100
G4															11 23	26 48	-11 -28	-09 -36	-05 -10	-11 -61
H1																31 57	-27 -65	-20 -76	-17 -33	-21-100
H2																	-23 -57	-14 -34	-18 -35	-16 -83
I1																		45 92	40 97	38 97
I2																			24 100	68 99
I3																				18 100
I4																				

* Starred items statistically significant; decimals have been omitted throughout; maximum value is 1.00

3. Southwestern U. S. Sample: Correlations Between Small Indexes.

	D1	D2	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	F1	F2	F3	G1	G2	G3	G4	H1	H2	I1	I2	I3	I4
D1	27	48	--	13	40	13	-04	-11	12	27	51	80	30	50	27	50	03	18	11	28	-05	19	-04	04	31	29*	07	07	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
D2			01	00	29	27	14	14	00	00	15	14	28	26	33	29	48	44	16	31	13	28	-08	22	10	10	23	22	-06	16	--	--	--	--	11	12	--	--
E1					17	65	27	68	30	67	24	60	01	01	--	00	01	02	-20	30	-20	29	-14	14	-07	07	-05	05	-02	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
E2						17	1.00	17	67	09	24	14	30	11	22	25	52	-02	19	04	16	-05	06	05	05	05	09	02	12	--	--	--	--	05	05	--	--
E3							44	86	01	03	10	25	03	07	07	17	-07	18	05	26	-10	10	02	02	06	06	04	04	--	--	--	--	-04	04	--	--
E4								18	18	04	03	03	03	-14	-12	-11	20	-18	21*	-13	14	-06	06	-04	04	-02	02	--	--	--	--	-05	05	--	--
E5										20	33	26	41	-09	-15	05	18	-12	22	-12	17	08	08	04	04	04	04	--	--	--	--	-11	11	--	--
F1											42	55	23	33	-09	28	-07	27	-07	10	09	12	29	29	07	15	--	--	--	--	13	14	--	--
F2												27	23	03	26	-07	29	-09	22	-01	02	18	18	-13	13	--	--	--	--	11	12	--	--
F3													-00	21	-10	27	16	20	11	12	35	33	10	15	--	--	--	--	10	12	--	--
A1													-10	19	06	17	18	26	19	19	-07	07	23	22*	--	--	--	--	22	22*	--	--
A2													-03	23	14	25	12	12	-05	05	-21	21*	-01	01	--	--	--	--	04	04	--	--
B1													07	24	-12	17	05	13	24	23*	03	03	01	01	--	--	--	--	07	07	--	--
B2													-10	11	-08	10	-11	16	-04	04	11	11	-14	14	--	--	--	--	-44	40*	--	--
B3													-04	16	-01	16	06	06	08	08	09	09	-17	16	--	--	--	--	02	02	--	--
G1															70	97	12	1.00	-01	-03	24	58	-03	-15	--	--	--	--	05	1.00	--	--
G2																	10	1.00	-04	-17	11	33	-41	1.00	--	--	--	--	05	1.00	--	--
G3																			-04	-21	11	1.00	-14	-15	--	--	--	--	-02	1.00	--	--
G4																					09	29	37	88	--	--	--	--	-24	1.00	--	--
H1																							10	41	--	--	--	00	05	1.00	--	--
H2																									--	--	--	--	02	1.00	--	--
I1																											--	--	--	--	--	--
I2																													--	--	--	--
I3																															--	--
I4																																

* Starred items statistically significant; decimals have been omitted throughout; maximum value is 1.00

4. Urban Mexican Sample: Correlations Between Small Indexes.

	D1	D2	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	F1	F2	F3	G1	G2	G3	G4	H1	H2	I1	I2	J3	I4
D1	32	69	17 69	14 86	12 56	34 95	11 74	22 58	31 71	20 52	04 07	07 09	10 13*	-04 04	-14 14*	-09 08*	-14 14*	-12 12*	-14 14*	-12 12*
D2				15 86	12 52	21 78	07 61	35 67	35 65	30 61	-- 10	-09 13	-08 13*	09 09	11 11	11 11	09 09	14 14	10 10	09 09
E1				19 91	23 84	17 79	02 39	10 48	13 56	03 18	06 17	-- 03	03 03	06 06*	07 07*	03 03	04 04	04 04	-- --	02 02
E2					20 92	17 91	09 85	09 84	15 94	02 29	02 08	-- 07	04 04	03 03	02 02	04 04	06 06	06 06	05 05	06 06
E3						20 84	07 69	21 94	14 59	07 38	04 07	-- 05	-02 02	02 02	06 06*	04 04	08 08*	08 08*	08 08*	07 07*
E4							20 91	17 96	22 86	12 59	-01 05	-01 09*	-08 08	03 03	09 09*	03 03	10 10*	07 07*	08 08*	09 09*
E5								08 66	04 39	04 36	-04 39	-03 21	-05 61	03 03	07 07*	02 02	07 07*	06 03*	04 04	04 04
F1									33 67	21 48	04 10	-03 10	-07 10*	10 10	16 16	13 13	11 12	14 14	07 07	10 10
F2										12 33	03 12	-02 13	-05 07	03 03	14 15	11 11	14 14	14 14	13 13	11 11
F3											03 06	-- 06	-07 08*	10 10	04 04	04 07	09 09	08 08	07 08	05 05
A1											-- 15*	10 19*	06 06	16 16*	-16 15*	-14 14*	-25 24*	-27 27*	17 17*	-13 23*
A2											02 14*	14 20*	09 09	-15 15*	-16 16*	-15 15*	-25 25*	-21 26*	-20 -19*	-23 23*
B1											02 09*	-03 07	-07 07	03 03	10 10*	03 03	08 08*	09 09*	07 07*	03 03
B2											-02 08	-11 14*	-07 07	09 09*	19 18*	15 14*	23 22*	23 22*	20 19*	23 22*
B3											01 08*	-- 04	-02 -03	-04 04	02 02	-01 01	04 04	04 04	05 05	04 04
G1												65 94	05 19	11 39	27 54	15 38	-13 -29	-14 -32	-10 -22	-16 -35
G2													08 36	18 57	31 64	17 45	-14 34	-15 -36	-10 -23	-10 -45
G3														01 08	15 48	08 44	-10 -38	-09 -34	-09 -30	-05 -1,
G4															20 68	46 72	-19 -60	-22 -67	-19 -63	-22 -67
H1																21 52	-31 -60	-29 -57	-27 -52	-28 -56
H2																	-24 -56	-27 -61	-22 -52	-26 -59
I1																		76 97	66 96	68 94
I2																			67 95	72 96
J3																				68 96
J4																				

* Starred items statistically significant; decimals have been omitted throughout; maximum value is 1.00

5. Rural Mexican Sample: Correlations Between Small Indexes.

	D1	D2	E1		E2		E3		E4		E5		F1		F2		F3		G1		G2		G3		G4		H1		H2		I1		I2		I3		I4	
D1	13	37	-02	--	-01	-100	32	96	28	100	--	--	07	34	24	79	18	69	02	12	05	11	22	23*	-09	09	-51	05	-04	04	04	04	06	06	10	10	-06	06
D2			09	74	15	100	27	100	-02	-100	--	--	24	61	39	81	04	16	09	21*	-06	09	-05	11	-02	02	02	02	01	01	07	07	03	03	01	01	02	02
E1					71	100	40	99	-01	-100	--	--	12	100	20	100	09	75	08	13	--	11	04	04	03	03	-01	01	05	05	08	08	09	09	10	10	09	09
E2							58	100	--	-100	--	--	08	100	13	100	15	100	13	18*	--	08	03	03	02	02	-07	07	03	03	06	06	06	06	07	07	07	07
E3									-01	-100	--	--	07	60	24	100	06	55	01	12	-06	07	-16	20	04	04	03	03	06	06	10	10	09	09	10	10	09	09
E4											--	--	-04	--	14	--	16	--	-01	09	--	08	03	03	02	02	-07	07	03	03	-06	06	06	06	-05	05	-06	06
E5													--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
F1															30	67	21	55	18	31	09	15	--	07	11	18	04	07	12	16	04	07	04	07	--	07	08	10
F2																	02	03	07	27	-05	15	08	21	03	09	05	11	09	10	14	15	09	12	03	10	11	11
F3																			25	32	21	23	--	11	10	10	-05	08	10	11	--	06	05	08	06	08	06	08
A1																			-06	26*	10	19*	06	07	09	09	-09	09	-16	16*	-24	23*	-19	19*	-10	10	-12	12*
A2																			-10	24*	07	19*	--	04	-13	12*	-07	07*	-15	15*	-20	20*	-14	14*	-05	05	-13	13*
B1																			01	17	-03	14	01	06	10	10	06	06	10	10	09	09	05	05	06	06	03	03
B2																			--	11	-10	14	-08	11	09	09	17	16*	07	07	22	22*	22	21*	23	22*	19	19
B3																			--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
G1																					70	96	11	46	26	63	39	71	19	42	-15	-31	-10	-22	-10	-22	-17	35
G2																							04	18	37	71	37	74	25	55	-16	-35	-10	-24	-09	-22	-12	-28
G3																									-01	-05	12	42	02	07	-07	-23	-10	-37	-11	37	-11	-37
G4																											22	60	63	97	-22	-59	-19	-51	-12	-36	-21	-59
H1																													12	25	-26	-49	-21	-41	-17	-33	-28	-52
H2																															-28	-59	-26	-55	-24	-55	-26	-56
I1																																	83	98	74	98	77	98
I2																																			73	96	71	95
I3																																					73	96
I4																																						

* Starred items statistically significant; decimals have been omitted throughout; maximum value is 1.00

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